

# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

The Monitor's view

## The Queen's silver jubilee

Many still recall her as the shy young princess who became sovereign in 1952. At the passing of her father, King George VI, she was catapulted into royalty's most prominent and demanding position overnight. At that time, Britain still was the center of a far-flung empire.

In the 25 years since then, Queen Elizabeth II has kept the throne with dignity as her country and its citizens made the difficult transition to Britain's reduced role in the world. In the process, the monarch also made a visible and commendable transition of her own; as a result of meticulous daily devotion to her duties and responsibilities, the Queen has emerged as one of the best informed persons in her realm on the nation's problems.

Of her great concern for her people, high and low, there never has been the slightest doubt. And with the exception of those who quibble about her wealth and the expense of

her establishment, there can be no doubt of Britons' affection for her. She has correctly been termed a royal anchor in these changing times, a symbol of all that is best of Britain. And that is no mean tribute.

If she had been less diligent in setting an example of dedication and firm adherence to the highest of standards, the monarchy itself might have been in disrepair today. Instead, her silver jubilee day, which she typically kept with her family at Windsor Castle near London, was a moment for quiet pride in the way the Queen has grown.

It mattered little that the Poet Laureate's hymn for the occasion was not entirely popular. What mattered were comments like that of Windsor chaplain Antony Ingham: "During the shifting sands and the changing times of the last 25 years, the royal family has advanced and adapted in a most remarkable way, and the debt we owe to the Queen and Prince Philip is incalculable."

## Rhodesia: talks, not terror

One can only deplore the latest attack by black nationalist guerrillas in Rhodesia during which seven white Roman Catholic missionaries were slain. This was terrorism for terror's sake, and it probably loses more for the blacks in their struggle for their rights than it gains.

Because the attack was the worst so far directed against the clergy and because it occurred about 60 miles from the capital city of Salisbury, it does have an impact. It may well frighten some whites. But it is likely at the same time to intensify the determination of whites not to be cowed by terrorist tactics.

The significance of the incident is to show that there are misguided leaders among the guerrillas who see violence of this sort as a means of spotlighting their cause and the lack of progress toward a peaceful settlement of the racial dispute in Rhodesia. But that they should vent their anger against members of a church that generally has stood strongly for better conditions for Rhodesia's blacks is hard to understand.

Regrettable though such terrorist outrages are, they do underscore the urgency of resuming negotiations between black and white leaders as soon as possible. Since the breakdown of the Geneva talks, and subsequent unsuccessful efforts to restore negotiations by Britain's Ivor Richard, things have been in dead center, and various black spokesmen have warned that the result might be intensification of guerrilla activity against white-ruled Rhodesia. Prime Minister Ian Smith is certain to get the message, but it is to be hoped that his reaction will not be only to stonewall against making further overtures to the blacks.

It also would be well for the black African leaders who gathered in Tanzania to concert their plans for reaching a Rhodesian settlement in the bargaining table. True, some blacks may argue that terrorism is one of the few remaining methods available to achieve black majority rule in Rhodesia. But that argument should not prevail while a better solution still can be found — indeed must be found — by resuming candid discussions between blacks and whites.

## Sound choice for the CIA

President Carter's new choice for Director of Central Intelligence hits the mark in both a professional and political sense. Adm. Stansfield Turner, who rose from Navy ensign to become commander of allied forces in southern Europe, has obviously demonstrated high competence as a manager of men and organizations. The former Rhodes Scholar and president of the Naval War College is also a person of thoughtful, innovative bent. These are qualifications much needed as the Central Intelligence Agency is refurbished to play its proper and valuable role.

In fact our only reservation about Admiral Turner's appointment is that it deprives the military of an officer of uncommon ability. And the military needs such. Nonetheless the CIA job is important too. Questions have arisen about putting a military man in the post, but Turner has a reputation as one of the Navy's most independent-minded officers.

This time around President Carter should have no problems politically, as he did with Ted Sorensen. There already are indications Admiral Turner will pass muster in the Senate with relatively ease. His naval experience and commitment to the nation's strong defense should make him acceptable to conservatives. His balanced, scholarly approach to military affairs should please liberals.

In actual fact Admiral Turner does not strike us as ideological one way or the other. From his writings there emerges a sober, practical view of Soviet naval capabilities and of what the United States must do to meet the growing Soviet challenge. In a recent article in Foreign Affairs, for instance, he points out the futility of measuring defense strength in numbers and engaging in the argument of "Who's

ahead?" Rather, he maintains, the U.S. must look at what its missions are and determine whether it has the proper types and mix of weaponry to carry them out.

This kind of objective analysis is essential in intelligence assessment. It gives reason to think Admiral Turner will not let his military background interfere with the broader perspective required in the CIA post. In sum, given his record and expertise, Admiral Turner appears well suited to take on this new assignment.

## Concern over Ethiopia's path

For the past two years, the land of the late Emperor Haile Selassie has been in turmoil. One factor is the sweeping social and economic reforms that the military junta which succeeded the Emperor has been attempting to institute in ancient, backward Ethiopia. These socialist reforms already have caused major upheavals in the way of life for the country's over 27 million people.

Another cause of instability has been the relentless struggle for power among Haile Selassie's successors. This already has resulted in a series of executions and massacres, the most recent of which were the slayings in Addis Ababa early this month which included the head of state and chairman of the ruling military council, Brig. Gen. Tefari Bante. The general was widely regarded as the public front man for the Ethiopian captains, majors and lieutenant colonels who actually run the nation in relative anonymity.

Finally among worrisome factors are the continuing civil war between the central government and guerrilla secessionists in the

Monday, February 14, 1977  
'All this time I thought a Ram was a sheep'



## Russians help their dissidents

By and large the Soviet people have no sympathy for the political dissidents in their midst. They regard them as troublemakers. Hence the disclosure that hundreds of Soviet political prisoners and their families have received some financial aid from sympathizers within the Soviet Union is noteworthy. It points to a certain amount of political solidarity with and compassion for these courageous outlaws for civil rights.

The relief fund for dissidents was started by exiled writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn and administered in the U.S.S.R. by Alexander Litvinov, a dissident friend of his who was recently picked up by the KGB and is now in prison. Some 270,000 rubles (about \$300,000) have been distributed to victims of the regime, about one fourth of which was raised clandestinely inside the Soviet Union. Some 600 families were helped last year, fewer than in 1975 because of increased KGB surveillance.

It is not hard to understand why Kremlin authorities have publicly attacked the aid operation. They cannot but be irritated that Soviet citizens, notably intellectuals, are quietly willing to run risks to help political prisoners and their families even though they themselves are not vocal dissenters.

Clearly, no matter how ruthlessly the Kremlin tries to clamp down on the small dissident movement, no matter how many civil rights advocates it throws in prison, no matter how many Western journalists it expels, it cannot silence the rising voices of dissent — or the yearning of more and more of its people for a humane society.

northern province of Eritrea; the emergence of another opposition group in the northwest which maintains an army of sorts and is opposed to socialist revolution sponsored by the ruling clique in the capital; and Ethiopia's uneasy relations with such neighbors as Somalia and Sudan.

Ethiopia's problems cannot be viewed in isolation. Trouble there contributes to potential instability of the entire Horn of Africa, the continent's easternmost extremity with its strategic proximity to the Arabian Peninsula, the narrow entrance to the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean. Ethiopia's only seaports are in Eritrea. And the tiny French Territory of the Afars and Issas contains the port of Djibouti, which is Addis Ababa's only link with the sea. When that territory becomes independent in the near future, both Ethiopia and Somalia have a keen interest in asserting control, which could exacerbate the situation.

Internally, indications are that the top leadership struggle is not yet resolved. Two powerful lieutenant colonels, Mengistu Haile Ma-

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WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL EDITION

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Monday, February 21, 1977

60¢ U.S.



Coast Guard prepared for "Cod War," U.S.-style [Story: Page 14]

## Why S. African blacks don't strike

By June Goodwin  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor  
Johannesburg

Many people outside South Africa wonder why blacks here do not use strikes to win political rights and force changes in the system of apartheid, which relegates them to the lowest rungs in the economy and society. The black trade union movement is, indeed, gradually gaining strength in South Africa, but blacks are a long way from being able to carry out a general strike.

There are three main reasons: (1) black unions are not officially recognized; (2) black workers are largely unaware of the power of unified action; and (3) among blacks, unemployment is rising dramatically.

Accurate statistics on the number of

unemployed are not available. About 70,000 to 80,000 whites, Coloreds (people of mixed race), and Asians are out of work, while the estimate of unemployed blacks ranges from 600,000 to 2,000,000. No comprehensive tally of black unemployment is made.

An economist with the Federal Chamber of Industries says at least 12,000 Africans are losing jobs each month.

The figure of 2,000,000 unemployed would be 20 percent of the economically active African population.

This joblessness is a big factor in unrest in the black townships. And business leaders project that it will lead to an increase of crime in the next few months. Then, they say, the government will have to do something drastic to get people back to work.

If and when unemployment is overcome, black unions can broaden their appeal. One veteran labor educationist says that for the first time since black unions began in 1920, a strong black leadership is emerging.

A strike among the Ovambo tribe in Namibia (South-West Africa) in 1971 and the Durban strikes in 1973 marked an awakening among workers. But there is a great distance to go before anyone can think seriously of a nationwide strike. (Namibia has been ruled by South Africa since World War I.)

One labor leader claims there were 20,000 blacks in black unions in 1973 and there now are 120,000. A more likely estimate is the 115,000 suggested by the Trade Union Congress of South Africa (TUCSA).

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## U.S.-Soviet arms debate: who has mightier muscle?

An analysis of the behind-doors struggle

By Daniel Southard  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington hasn't seen anything like it since the great missile gap controversy 17 years ago.

For several months now, a chaotic debate over whether the Russians are trying to achieve strategic superiority over the United States has raged across the capital city. The debate has been carried on in speeches and seminars, in the closed circles of intelligence officers and the open forum of the U.S. Senate. It is reaching the rest of the nation through the news media.

What few of the experts emphasize in their zeal to win their arguments is that no one has all the answers. In a field as complex as this one — involving the awesome and untested U.S. and Soviet nuclear striking forces — there is plenty of room for ambiguity.

A question as seemingly simple as "Is it the Russians or the Americans — or both of them — who hold the arms race?" provokes widely varying comment from the experts.

But while the intensity of feeling generated by the current debate may rival that which erupted with the missile gap controversy of 1959-60, there the similarities end. The new debate involves much more than the simple question of who's ahead in the construction of new missiles.

In the new controversy, there appears to be little doubt as to how many missiles each side possesses and is building. Thanks to improved intelligence-gathering techniques, including the use of reconnaissance satellites, this kind of question can be answered with reasonable accuracy.

The new controversy is concerned with Soviet intentions more than with Soviet capabilities. Thus, it involves subjective judgments on Soviet history, psychology, and likely future actions. It requires an assessment of the emphasis the Soviets have placed on civil defense, and it requires complex analyses of the apparently huge share of the Soviet gross national product (GNP) that is devoted to defense.

The seeds of the debate actually go back to 1975, when the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) concluded that the Soviets were devoting a much larger portion of their GNP to defense than had been originally estimated.

CIA analysts calculated that instead of 6 to 8 percent of GNP, as originally estimated, the Soviets were devoting 11 to 13 percent to defense. The United States spends on defense about 6 percent of its GNP, which is more than twice that of the Soviet Union.

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## Carter's 'care but don't spoil Israel' policy

By Joseph C. Harsch

There are two sides to the emerging Carter administration policy toward Israel.

On the one hand it says: "The United States is deeply committed to the security and the survival of Israel and to its values."

On the other hand it has already said "no" to Israel on four different matters — oil-drilling in occupied Arab territory, the concession bomb, the sale of fighter-bombers to Ecuador, and the transfer of the United States Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

The chronology is explicit about both sides of the policy. The commitment to the security of Israel has been repeated by Mr. Carter in all his public pronouncements during the campaign and since the campaign. The latest, quoted above, was from the new U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, on his arrival on Tuesday last (Feb. 15) at Ben-Gurion International Airport in Israel.

The phrasing of this Vance statement is im-

portant. The commitment is not only to the "security" and to the "survival" of Israel, but also to its "values." That is, Carter policy not only accepts a full commitment to the existence of Israel, but also to the values that provide the philosophical *raison d'être* for the state of Israel. This represents, of course, a commitment that has been made to Israel by every American president beginning with Harry S. Truman. It is as full, complete, and unequivocal as could be.

The other side of the policy is equally as explicit. Mr. Carter does not feel bound to give Israel everything it wants. He, not the Israeli Government, is going to decide what the United States will or will not do to carry out the policy of commitment. The chronology of this side of the matter is as follows:

Nov. 15: Mr. Carter, at his first full press conference after the election, was asked whether he would carry out the promise of the Democratic Party platform to move the U.S. Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv, which govern-

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## Keeping up with the Joneskis

By a staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow  
The young woman tossed her head when asked why she did not like Soviet-made trill winter boots. They are not stylish, she sniffed — and said she gladly paid double for pairs from Austria or Finland.

One well-to-do "Muscovite" raised eyebrows recently by buying an expensive coat only because the gold-colored lining matched the wallpaper in her apartment.

Soviet teen-agers scorn sturdy Soviet jeans in favor of scrambling on the black market for jeans from abroad worth \$20 a pair that sell here for as much as \$130.

Lines form early in major cities in European (western) Russia these winter days whenever expensive sheepskin coats appear in stores. The coats are status symbols now.

These are examples of a new style of Soviet consumer — a consumer who is causing considerable concern among senior officials of the Soviet Communist Party.

Anyone who has lived here for any length of time is aware of the threat of Soviet citizens for the kind of quality goods that this country has done without for so long. As living stan-



dards slowly rise, the throat grows — and can spill over into the kind of ostentation indicated by the gold bookbinding.

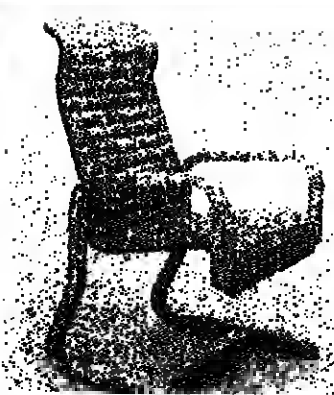
Party leaders worry at the growing consumer ethic. They see it as a direct threat to the ideal communist state of "comradeliness" and sharing.

One suspects that the average Russian, who has lived here for any length of time, is aware of the threat of Soviet citizens for the kind of quality goods that this country has done without for so long. As living stan-

\*Please turn to Page 19



## Highlights



**WHAT IS A CHAIR?** Monitor critic Diana Loecherer offers some insights into conceptual art. Page 28

**OUT OF PRISON.** An Indian journalist, whose columns have appeared in the Monitor, describes his recent four-month detention in an Indian jail. Page 30

**FISH.** No cod war is being waged off America's shores, but the Coast Guard is going all out to keep foreign fishermen outside its extended 200-mile limit. Page 14

**SPORTS.** David Parry-Jones discusses Cardiff City's prospects. Page 25

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## THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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## FOCUS

## God save the Queen's poet

By Melvin Maddocks

Sir John Betjeman, England's suddenly famous Poet Laureate, gets about four inches in Bartlett's "Familiar Quotations." Five separate quotations, if that sort of thing impresses you.

If you're a believer in serendipity, make what you will of the fact that Bartlett's best of Betjeman is sandwiched between a quote of C. P. Snow ("corridors of power") and a well-known line of Leo Durocher ("Nice guys finish last").

You can say that again, Leo. A poem published in England or anywhere else typically reaches maybe 2,000 readers. If the poet is fortunate - and that's including the critics. But everybody above functional illiteracy, it seems, has read Sir John's Jubilee Hymn in honor of the 25th anniversary of Queen Elizabeth II. And, except for Sir John's agent and a couple of low poets, practically all these readers have, in fact, turned out to be critics.

A conservative Member of Parliament, Nicholas Fairbairn, pronounced the Jubilee Hymn "absolutely pathetic," then made the grave mistake of claiming he could do better. His counter-verse began: "Queen Sovereign universal/Queen my Queen/Silver Queen, glint of Britain/Queen woman serene." Nobody accused him of hiring a ghost writer at least. Indeed, his essay in rhyme ought to have driven the enemy to

Sir John's side if there were an office of poetic justice in the world.

But instead there was Elaine Randall, an official of the National Poetry Society, calling Sir John's 24-line opus "miserable rhyme ghastliness."

Well, Sir John did rhyme "steeples" with "people" and "blue" (as in the Queen's eyes) with "true." But what hard-pressed lyrical, running for his life from "miserable June," has not done worse?

And that, say those unhappy few - Sir John's defenders - is the point. Sir John, they protest, has written a hymn, not a poem.

Malcolm Williamson, the composer of the music to which the Jubilee Hymn is set, carefully described the lyrics as "deceptively simple." Roy Fuller, who had been mentioned as a Betjeman rival for Poet Laureate in 1972, explained it this way: "All the great hymn writers have been very simple in their approach, and their works often seem banal when written down."

He added: "Composers don't really like complicated lyrics."

Here, we suspect, Mr. Fuller is right, and certainly he has made a game try to take the heat off poets in general and Sir John in particular.

In the spirit of Mr. Fuller's diversion, we should like to ask why nobody is objecting to the prose written about the Silver Ju-

bilee. A chaplain who ought to go nameless, observed all too publicly: "During the ceremony, and the changing times of the day, the Royal Family has advanced. Nobody cried, 'Hallelujah!' or 'Redundant' or even 'Amen!'"

The point of all this is that Sir John happens to be a good minor poet in the most respectable sense of the word "minor." Essentially he is a gentle social satirist who under a mandate to praise. After the Jubilee Hymn is forgotten, he will be remembered for his better verse, including lines that, while enough, make a wryly nostalgic comment on history.

Pale green of the English Hymnal? Yellowed hymns.

Played on the lutes by a lady dressed in blue.

Her white-haired father accompanying her through

On tenor or bass-requiem. Daylight shining on sectional book-cases, delicate cup and plate.

And William de Morgan tiles around the grate.

And many the silver branches the party lights shines through.

I think such a running together of words

Such a painstaking piping high on a Berkshire hill.

Is such an English autumn day and still.

Such as a country silence, tractor-drawn, For deep in the hearts of the man and the woman playing

The rose of a world that was not yet withered away

God save the Queen's poet, we say.

## Britain's birthrate: call off the panic

By Francis Renny  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Is Britain's "tight little isle" on the way to becoming a desert island? That's the question posed by the current population figures, and the answer is quite the opposite of what statisticians were saying 20 or 30 years back.

Back in 1947, university experts were convinced that the nation would respond to World War II by killing up its baby-carriages from one end of the High Street to the other. And for the next 20 years or so the expert predictions seemed to come true. As late as 1966 it was projected that by the end of the century the population would rise to 75 million or even more.

Today's forecasts agree that we shall be lucky, or unlucky, to maintain our present level of around 55 million.

It's not just a matter of laughing at the experts for getting their sums wrong. The computers have already tipped off the planners that the day-after-tomorrow's output of hospitals, houses, schools, and roads should be geared to the expectation that so many fewer people will be there to use them. And the taxes we are paying now have been assessed on the basis of a Britain yet to come.

In a little-noticed official bulletin, London's highly respected Central Statistical Office has laid out some facts and figures which in the long run are much more important than the current headline scares about inflation and unemployment. Basic to these: that fewer babies were born in Britain last year than in any year since World War II. In the past ten years, the British birthrate has dropped by 25 percent.

It is now so low that the population is actually in decline. In the light of this, all the plans that have been made for future production, marketing and construction are quite simply wrong. There won't be the people there to buy, to use the goods and services planned for them.

The most obvious effect of Britain's declining birthrate is that the panic about overcrowding can be called off. Already the training of school teachers is being scaled down, the construction of New Towns has been classified as old-fashioned and extra maternity units are being eliminated from many state hospitals.

One has only to talk to the newly-married

generation, or those in their 20s, to sense that smaller families are the fashion.

The trend began some 10 or 12 years ago, when it could barely be sensed in percentage points. Today in all classes it is normal to find young couples who say they want to stick at two children, common to find those who want only one, not uncommon to encounter what was once unthinkable - a married couple who do not want any children at all. Their careers, they say, are enough.

The reasons are complex. Some are imposed. The longer a couple postpones having children, for whatever reason, the less likely they are to have them; women simply become less fertile the older they are. And the fact that there are so many ways now of avoiding, postponing, or even concealing pregnancy contributes to this.

One school of thought, which this reporter finds convincing, has it that the declining birthrate is fundamentally due to psychological causes. And among these must be the current reassessment of the role of women. There undoubtedly are British women who regard their lives as being professional careers, like those of their husbands, and to whom motherhood is an interruption.

To such couples life is much easier, and housing more easily come by, without children. In every material sense, they are better off without children. Beyond that is hard to persuade them.

The effect of the falling birthrate on the overall pattern of the British population is far-reaching. Racially, it affects the traditional Anglo-Saxons more than the Irish immigrants or new arrivals from the West Indies, India and Pakistan. Colored immigrants formed 2.6 percent of the total population in 1970; today they are 3.5 percent.

But it would be wrong, unjustifiable, to blame the decline of the white Anglo-Saxon population on Afro-Asian immigration. The changed status of women has affected the white population far more than the colored. It is the white families who have felt the pinch of taxation and rising prices and sent the wives out to work.

Pakistanis keep their women at home to raise children as they have always done. They have changed their ways very little.

Britain has never cared much for the "confidential" approach of encouraging couples to have more children by granting them huge family allowances. For years it has not been



minimum for a French working man to feel more in child subsidies from the state than he has found in his pay-pocket from the factory. Even so, the cash incentive does not seem to have worked very well. In the French population, too, is in decline.

How big a family to have seems to depend more on the shape and nature of a couple's career - whether they are peasant smallholders or middle-class professionals - than on any extra pound or two in the Post Office every week. Parenthood cannot so easily be purchased.

More important to look to the future, if Britain is to have fewer young wage-earners supporting a longer-lived retired class, the young must be better educated, super-productive and better paid. And there are doubts as to how much their diminishing numbers can support.

Is it wise to lower the retirement age - as the unions are demanding? In the short run that may find jobs for the young unemployed, but in the longer run it will only increase the numbers sitting on park benches waiting for their pensions. If the birthrate is falling, shouldn't people actually be working longer? The elderly may not want to shift gears, but do they want to be idle while there is still useful work for them to do?

## A breath of life for a dying sea

Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Sixteen countries bordering the Mediterranean have taken the first steps toward drafting a treaty to combat land-based pollution of that sea.

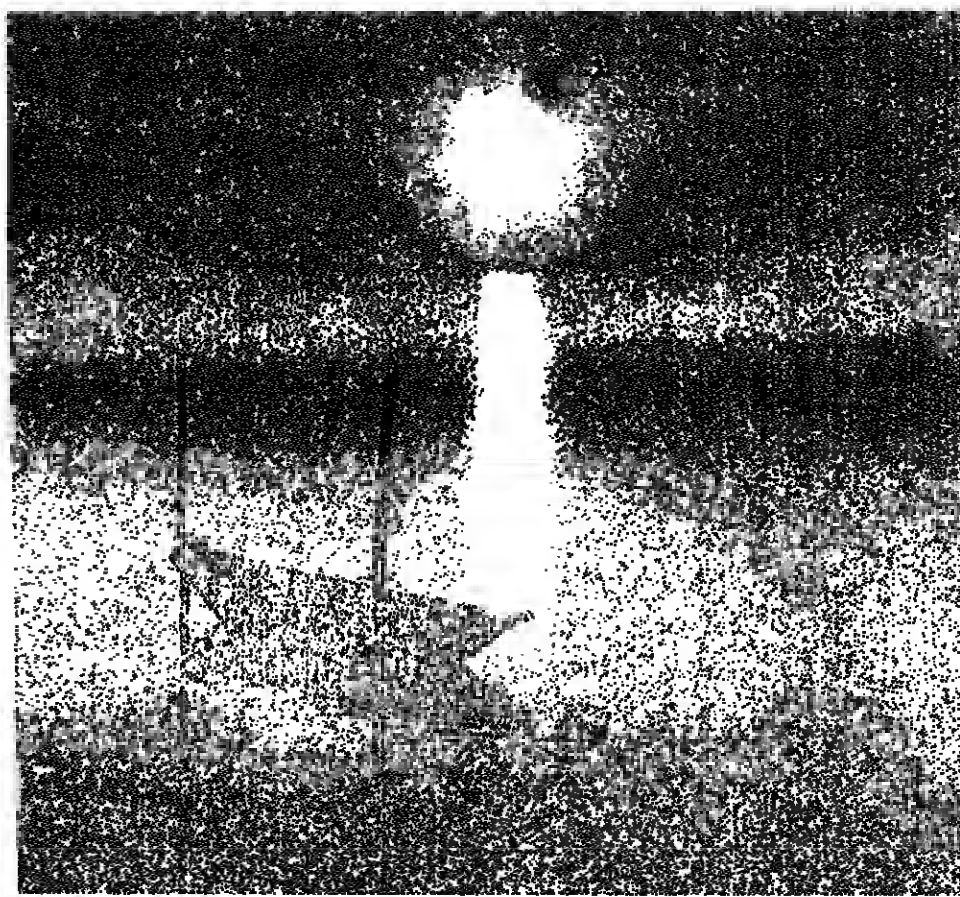
Last year the same countries approved three treaties to protect the Mediterranean from pollution caused by dumping from ships and planes.

Scientific and legal experts of "the 16" have been meeting in Athens this past week to tackle the problem of land-based pollution and agreed on a set of principles that will be revealed at another meeting in Venice in October. Government delegates will meet at the end of the year in Monte Carlo to draft the treaty.

The five-day consultations in Athens were sponsored by the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP).

French underwater explorer Jacques Cousteau, who attended some of the sessions, said: "The Mediterranean will probably be saved." Previously he had been warning that the Mediterranean was "a dying sea."

Experts say the main "polluting villains" are industrial waste, untreated municipal sewage pouring into offshore waters, and agricultural pesticides carried by rivers and winds. They estimate that 90 percent of the sewage dumped into the Mediterranean is either untreated or inadequately treated.



Off the island of Burano, near Venice

By N. Norman Matherly, staff photographer

The Mediterranean: romantic to look at, but...

## Spanish Army retreats from politics

By Joe Gandelman  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Madrid

Is Spain's Army loyal?

Immediately after General Franco's passing the answer to that would have been "perhaps." But now, under King Juan Carlos, the 358,000-man Army is moving toward increasing professionalism, links with NATO, and a hands-off stance on domestic politics.

The severest test of the Army's loyalty came late January during an upsurge of extremist violence clearly aimed at sparking a military coup. Perhaps an underlying reason why the still-mysterious provocateurs failed was that even under General Franco the Army was lately pro-monarchist.

In addition, the King received extensive military training when he was being schooled to be Franco's successor and he enjoys strong ties with younger officers, many of whom want reform speeded up. In September the King moved against several veteran rightist generals who oppose reform.

One of his most significant acts was the appointment of Lt. Gen. Manuel Gutierrez Mellado, a moderate, as vice premier.

Gen. Gutierrez is known to combine a human side with firmness and is considered to have done more to transform the Army and its image than anyone else. When workers at Seville's Fasa-Renault plant protested over January's terrorism, General Gutierrez sent off a telegram vowing that "the government would use all means at its disposal to clarify the deeds and capture the guilty."

The King handles any sign of increase in the Army by pulling on his Army uniform. On Jan. 31 he visited a military base commanded by hard-liner Gen. Milans de Bosch. The timing was hardly coincidental. It came after the terrorist attacks and shortly before these developments.

General Gutierrez Mellado said the Army would, if necessary, help the police. He urged the Army not to listen to those who sought to impair its unity.

Chief of Staff, Lt. Gen. Jose Vega Rodriguez declared that the military's position was that "of a dispassionate, though worried,

spectator." While it did not want power, he said, it "could in very exceptional circumstances fill a power vacuum" but would never displace the government's legitimacy. In other words he was saying: Spain's military would accept nearly any elected government. And if something happened to the King, the Army could fill the vacuum. But it would not frustrate the nation's will for reform legitimized by the Dec. 15 referendum on constitutional changes.

The government banned military involvement in politics. The military cannot express preference for political parties or unions, but must "respect whatever political option occurs within the institutional order."

In this respect, a consensus exists between the King's military appointees and young members of the clandestine leftist Military Democratic Union (UMD). Both want the Army to be like the monarchy - symbolic of national unity, above groups or factions.

The UMD is watching rightist generals. Prospective coup leaders would have to watch over their shoulders to see if lower ranks were there to follow.

## Japan-Europe trade: after grumblings, friendship?

By Tokusht Oke  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

London

If there is one blessing that Europe's angry trade dispute with Japan has brought, it is that both sides recognize the need to know each other better.

The shipbuilding dispute has eased, but a row over ball bearings continues. That is the latest news on the trade front between Japan and the nine-member European Community (EC). At a time of recession and high unemployment, EC member-states like Britain, France, and Germany feel aggrieved that Japan enjoyed a \$4 billion surplus in trade with the EC last year.

But there is recession and unemployment in Japan as well. In a press conference in Paris last week, Muneto Shashiki, the chief Japanese delegate to the shipbuilding talks with the EC, said that between 1974 and 1976 there had been 80,000 dismissals to the Japanese shipbuilding industry - in a country where lifetime employment is the usual practice. The total number of

shipbuilding workers in Germany, Mr. Shashiki said, is 70,000. In Britain, 50,000.

The Paris talks, held at the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, to which both Japan and the EC countries belong, featured a Japanese plan to raise prices on newly constructed ships by 5 to 10 percent, in hopes of reducing the flow of orders to Japanese shipyards.

The Europeans contend that Japan has taken 80 to 90 percent of the world market in ships; the Japanese say they turned out ships amounting to 68.3 percent of world orders last year but that because of cancellations they had only 30 percent of world orders as of the end of September.

On ball bearings, the EC unilaterally has imposed a 20-percent anti-dumping duty on imports from Japan, sparking a "strongly worded" protest from Tokyo.

Both sides recognize that on trade matters this kind of move and countermove is likely. What worries thoughtful individuals on both sides is that so far trade is about the only substantive link between Japan and the EC countries. Furthermore, this trade is almost all in

manufactured products; an area of direct competition between the two.

With the United States, by contrast, Japan has an essential security link and even in trade buys enormous quantities of American grain and coal.

One of British Prime Minister James Callaghan's closest aides, a man in his mid-30s, was talking the other day about U.S. Vice-President Walter F. Mondale's recent visit. He said that within Mr. Mondale's entourage he recognized several friends whom he has first encountered a dozen years ago, as he has been grooming his career in the Labour Party headquarters.

The Mondale visit was a success, this political worker recalled, not just because the Vice-President and Mr. Callaghan hit it off well together, but because at the middle and lower levels there were many on both sides who already knew each other. And the same is true of Mr. Callaghan's visit to Paris or Bonn.

"But I cannot think of a single Japanese I know in this way, with whom I have kept up contact during the years," the Prime Minister's aide said.

## Europe

## For Giscard and Barre: A time to smile

By Jim Browning  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Paris

After a long series of problems and disappointments, the outlook suddenly looks brighter for French President Giscard d'Estaing and his Prime Minister, Raymond Barre.

Economic performance is improving, their popularity is sharply up, and even their speeches have begun taking on new strength.

The problems began soon after the President appointed Mr. Barre Prime Minister in late August. A new austerity plan announced by the Premier in September was slow to show results.

In October, for the first time in the 18-year history of the Fifth Republic, the monthly popularity poll conducted by the newspaper France-Sour showed more people dissatisfied than satisfied with the President.

In November, former Prime Minister Jacques Chirac began his political comeback, regaining his seat in Parliament and reorganizing the Gaullist Party into a potential threat to the President's independent authority within the governing coalition.

Commentators blamed the President and Prime Minister sounding increasingly disengaged in public. Rumors even began to circulate that the Prime Minister was considering resigning.

At Mr. Giscard d'Estaing's press conference in January, questions centered on disappointing economic statistics, division within the governing coalition, and such embarrassing political problems as the release of suspected Palestinian terrorist leader Abu Daoud.

But at the end of the month it was announced that prices had increased by only 0.3 percent in December, holding the total for 1976 under the psychologically important 10 percent mark.

Other economic indicators improved and business leaders began grudgingly supporting the austerity plan. A series of protest strikes was only partly followed by rank-and-file workers, and labor leaders were privately disappointed.

Sharper still was the change in the President, who began appearing more aggressive in public.

For more than an hour on prime television on Feb. 1, he answered questions from citizens chosen to represent all shades of political opinion. The questions were tough ones similar to those posed at the earlier press conference, but this time the answers seem to hit home more. The President, who in the past has often appeared aloof, seemed willing to defend himself on a more human level.

On Feb. 8 in Brittany Mr. Giscard d'Estaing made a strong speech. It was widely interpreted as a promise that he would not let the Gaullists or the leftist opposition weaken his constitutional authority.

"Have we got a president again?" asked the normally critical left-wing Paris newspaper, Le Quotidien de Paris.

At the end of January there had been some good political news. After months of negotiation and public embarrassment, Francoise Claustre, a French archaeologist held for more than two and one-half years by anti-government rebels in Chad, was released thanks to Libyan intervention.

Still better news came this past week. In the France-Sour poll, after the television appearance and the improved price statistics, the President's popularity jumped up sharply: 45 percent now approved of him and only 35 percent disapproved. Prime Minister Barre showed an even sharper gain, and pollsters said the brisk turn around was most unusual.

Economists say it is too soon to know whether the Barre austerity plan will have lasting results.

But for the moment, the tide seems to be rising for the President and the Prime Minister - and they are making the most of it.



## Europe

## East Germany to Westerners: 'go away'

By David Mutch  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Bonn  
East Germany is making yet another effort to insulate its citizens from contacts with Westerners.

It has been refusing to allow selected West Berliners and West Germans to visit friends and relatives in East Germany, reports the West Berlin government's complaint center for inter-German visits.

This is seen as a violation of specific inter-German agreements.

Since mid-December the East Germans have refused visas to 250 individuals who either recently emigrated from East Germany to the West or have sought to visit friends still in the East who have applied to emigrate. The figure may be higher because not all who are refused entry lodge a complaint with the complaint center. Before mid-December these people were much more readily granted visas.

West Berlin experts in inter-German travel say the restrictive moves appear to be aimed at dampening a growing emigration mood in the East German population. More than anything else, contact between individuals not only provides East Germans with specific information about how to apply to leave their country, but gives them the courage to take this step.

Freedom of contact between individuals is one of the provisions of the Helsinki documents in European security and cooperation signed in 1975. A conference to review how the Helsinki

agreement is being implemented is to be held in Belgrade this summer.

The West Berlin Senate (the city's executive arm) has shifted these latest travel restrictions and complained to East Berlin. While the framework of the four-power agreement on Berlin, signed by Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States, the Berlin Senate worked out with East Germany an inter-German travel agreement that has given West Berliners the process of visiting rights in East Germany.

## West Germans' rights

West Germans have visiting rights under the so-called basic treaty between the two Germanys. This travel and visiting arrangement, spelled out in exchanges of letters in May and December, 1972 — does not include specific visits which can be refused.

On the other hand, the visiting rights of West Berliners (who live in a divided city) are under constant negotiation by officials from both sides, and ground rules and violation cases are specified.

Because the visiting rights of West Berliners were negotiated under the four-power agreement, it is a subject that the Western allies can take to Moscow in the form of a complaint, if they choose. This is a delicate consideration in light of the coming Helsinki review conference.

## An ongoing effort

West German Foreign Ministry officials suspect that these travel restrictions are part of an ongoing effort in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union to "put out the fire of dissent that has been growing," in the words of one expert.

It is suspected that a decision to clamp down was at one of the periodic summit meetings of Warsaw Pact countries called to consider the latest events involving actions against dissidents in East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union.



Friedrichstrasse Station, border check point between East and West Berlin

By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

## Dublin newspaper charges Irish police with brutality

By Jonathan Hirsch  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Dublin  
Allegations of brutality by the Irish police, made in a series of articles in the respected Dublin newspaper, the Irish Times, have deeply embarrassed the government of the Irish Republic.

The articles charged that a special police unit, nicknamed the "heavy gang," taking advantage of new powers to detain suspects for seven days without trial, was using violence

and psychological techniques to force the detainees to sign incriminating statements. (The new powers are part of tough measures by the Irish Government to crack down on the illegal Irish Republican Army.)

## British case pending

The interrogation techniques described in the Irish Times are similar in those that are the basis of a case brought by the Irish Government against Britain before the European Court of Human Rights.

Ireland has charged that the British Government was guilty of torture for allowing the use

of such techniques in Northern Ireland from 1971 to 1974. It is seeking to force Britain to prosecute all those involved in these practices. Britain's answer is that the interrogation methods were used only in a few instances, have long since ceased, and will never be used again.

The European court announced Feb. 16 that it would open a full-scale public trial in April on the Irish charges.

Denying the Irish Times allegations, Tom Kelly, press officer for the Irish police, said: "I think what might cause me greatest concern is the suggestion that there is within the force a section who are especially set apart to inflict ill treatment or brutality as it is described on certain persons in Garda [police] custody. This is an allegation which is to me very serious and which is of course totally and absolutely untrue."

## Hard to believe

Over the years newspaper correspondents have found it difficult to give great weight to charges of police brutality either in northern Ireland or in the Irish Republic.

Journalists have been treated to parades of released terrorist suspects displaying lumps and bruises. Yet these same newsmen also have witnessed the devastating results of terrorist attacks in terms of human suffering.

In one case encountered by this reporter, a woman complained of being injured during a search of her house, and said food and clothes had been stolen. The police officer allegedly hit her complaints — and remarked afterward how strange it was the woman made no complaint about the police taking away two illegal rifles found in her house during the search.

## Propaganda effort?

Some Irish political sources suggest that the allegations of police brutality are part of a deliberate propaganda campaign to embarrass the Irish Government, financed by a steady flow of money from overseas to the illegal Irish Republican Army. They say the money could be used to finance proceedings before Ireland's high court in up to 60 cases of alleged police brutality. Each such case would cost about £3,000 (\$5,100).

If an amount of more than \$300,000 is available to devote to court wrangling, it is a sign the IRA still has ample funds to spend, these sources say.

This is a point the Irish Government would like the United States Government to consider in its current investigation into NORAD (the Irish Northern Aid Committee) based in New York, which has long been accused of being the main source of IRA funds.

## Portugal

## Collective farmers would rather do it themselves

By Helen Gibson  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Lisbon  
Farm workers in the wheat-growing area of southern Portugal are increasingly disillusioned with the Communist-run collective farms set up on the Soviet model after the Portuguese Revolution of 1974.

Workers on five of the farms in the southern Alentejo that were occupied and incorporated into the giant 45,000-acre collective Margem Esquerda (left bank) recently decided to peel off and run their own 7,000-acre cooperative.

The move came as a surprise, for Margem Esquerda had been the point of strongest resistance a month ago, when the Socialist government handed back to the original owner one of the farms the collective had annexed. It took a force of armed Republican National Guard to ensure the hand-over and protect the farm owner from angry leftist workers.

The breakaway workers say the Communist unions running the collectives do not know what they are doing. They feel they can do better themselves.

Not unexpectedly, the Communists, who re-

gard the Alentejo as their major stronghold, are fighting this trend as hard as they can.

When officials arrived to enforce a government decision that the "Queen of the South" collective return the machinery and animal herds illegally taken from one farmer, the directors of the collective were nowhere to be found. Neither were the sheep, cattle, or machinery, all of which had been removed and hidden on another collective.

The government then cut the collective's agricultural credit and requisitioned all its machinery.

The Communists replied with a press conference in the southern town of Evora, at which they bitterly denounced what they termed the government's injustices, illegality, violence, and lies. "This is to alert all Portuguese workers, military men, and all our people of the real danger that is threatening to destroy one of the major conquests of the Portuguese people, consecrated in the Constitution — agrarian reform," one spokesman declared.

The Communists' biggest attack was on the new Agricultural Minister, Antonio Barreto, who three months ago replaced left-winger Antonio Lopes Cardoso in the post. Mr. Lopes

Cardoso resigned because he did not feel the Socialist's agrarian reform policies were radical enough.

When Mr. Barreto took over he promised a second land reform. He said that although many positive results had been obtained by the agrarian reform movement, this had been done too quickly and inefficiently and had given rise to serious distortions which had to be corrected.

He followed this with the suspension of all emergency credit to the 200-odd collectives in the south until they rendered accounts for thousands of millions of dollars they soaked up over the past 18 months. Mr. Barreto became public enemy No. 1 to the Communists.

In the December local elections the Communists won easily in the Alentejo district of Beja and Evora. They gained more than 47 percent of the vote in both areas, in comparison to the Socialist's 39 percent in Beja and 34 percent in Evora.

Nonetheless, they view the crumbling at the edges of their powerful collectives with more than a little alarm. It remains to be seen how strongly they can maintain their hold over this vital farm area. But one thing is sure — they will not give in without a hard fight.

## Soviet Union

## Carter's strategy on human rights strains détente

By David K. Willis  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

A growing feeling among Western analysts here is that President Carter must find a new strategy to try and ease Soviet pressure against dissidents and human rights.

These analysts seem to be suggesting a resort to private pressure rather than a stream of public statements. Specifically they are thinking of a direct warning that Senate ratification of any new agreement to limit strategic nuclear weapons (which the Kremlin apparently wants) is seriously endangered by Soviet arrests of such figures as Yuri Orlov and Alexander Glazunov and the expulsion of newsmen who report the dissidents' views consistently.

Some observers see extreme Soviet sensitivity to Washington criticism linked to Moscow's concern at dissident protests in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany — and perhaps to increasing signs of public anger within the Soviet Union at recent price rises and food shortages.

Analysts with long experience of Soviet af-

fairs say that more public statements now from Washington supporting dissidents will only worsen an already deteriorating diplomatic atmosphere.

Mr. Carter's course of speaking out firmly led last weekend to a remarkable, detailed, two-thirds-of-a-page editorial in Pravda, the Communist Party newspaper, directly rejecting the American views. It branded the dissidents as "renegades." It put them — and Washington — on notice that what one analyst here calls the "bounds of the permissible" have been contracted sharply.

These analysts are disturbed at the prospect of anti-Soviet maneuvering by the American delegation to the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva. Such maneuvering was indicated in reports from Washington that delegation leader Allard K. Lowenstein has been instructed to begin talks with other governments.

The rationale behind such public strategies is that only the spotlight of world attention has a hope of influencing the Soviet Union's attitude. These analysts here whose views are cited above agree — but question whether pub-

lic pressure should come from the government. Instead, they ask, should it not come more effectively from press and private groups, leaving hard bargaining to be done by governments in private?

The difficulty now, they concede, is that Mr. Carter may well be reluctant to give the impression that he has publicly backed down.

The Kremlin has been warning since last November that it will tolerate no "interference" in its internal affairs over dissidents. At that time, however, public attention was focused on the current, low-key optimism with which the Kremlin was greeting Mr. Carter's election and on rising prospects for a new SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation) agreement.

In just two and a half months the diplomatic climate has worsened steadily. Not only has right-wing pressure against another SALT pact mounted in Washington, but also liberals are indicating that since the Soviets cannot be trusted on human rights, they can scarcely be trusted to observe a SALT agreement. A group of representatives signed a letter recently in the House linking Soviet credibility on these issues in just this way.

What is American leverage on human rights? And why have the Soviets acted so unexpectedly against dissidents since November — especially when they face an international review of their behavior in Belgrade this summer at the follow-up conference to the 1975 Helsinki declaration?

Those two questions dominate discussion among Kremlin-watchers here following the third editorial in Pravda Feb. 12.

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viat republic (after the Russian Federation) which borders on Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Romania and spreads south to Black Sea ports where U.S. grain and cargo ships call.

Moscow and Washington already have one other pair of consulates: a Soviet one in San Francisco and an American counterpart in Leningrad. The agreement for that pair was signed in 1949, and opening date came two years later.

The Kiev-New York exchange was provided for at the 1974 summit between Soviet leader Leonid I. Brezhnev and former President Richard M. Nixon. It authorizes at least one more pair, and another after that if both sides are willing. Those decisions must await the course of détente.

Formal opening in Kiev and New York is not expected until 1978, though both offices will be ready to handle work informally well before then.

The Soviets have bought two apartment houses for its consulate team just off Fifth Avenue in the high east 80s, and three apartments for the advance party in Kiev are expected to be ready by April. However, other buildings for offices, apartments, and an official consulate-general's residence in Kiev still have to be remodeled according to U.S. blueprints.

American officials in Moscow generally are satisfied with the pace of work in Kiev. They say Ukrainian authorities have shown ready cooperation. Housing and available buildings are in far shorter supply in the Soviet Union (than in the U.S.) — and the Ukraine has never had to deal with resident Western diplomats before.



# Africa

## Nigeria inches stage-by-stage to democracy

By Arthur O. Ezenekwe  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Lagos, Nigeria  
With the maintenance of stability at home a prime concern, Nigerians have taken another step toward a return to elected government.

They recently held the first local elections since a succession of military governments came to power 11 years ago.

The present regime of Lt. Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo has pledged to return the country to civilian rule by Oct. 1, 1979. This transition of power is to come under a five-stage political program. The first stage was the establishment of more states (19 states instead of 12).

The local elections in December were part of the second stage, which will end in October, 1978. By that time a partly elected and partly nominated constituent assembly is slated to complete its work on a new constitution. Stages 3, 4, and 5 of the plan will consist of the revival of party politics and elections at state and federal levels.

Political parties remained banned for the December elections, but the elections were not without controversy. They were direct in some states and indirect in others, a disparity that several politicians have protested. There also were some charges of bribery and other irregularities which are being investigated by special appeal committees.

In Kano state former federal Defense Minister Alhaji Inua Wada, who had recently announced he would run for president, was found guilty of bribing voters with bags of grain. He has been banned from local elections for five years.

Other well-known political figures were defeated in the elections by younger relatively unknown men and women. Several women were elected in the north, where women had not voted in the past.

The newly elected councilors have been given the mission of "bringing the government closer to the people" under a reformed local government system.

A draft constitution, which is a modified version of the British-oriented constitution adopted at independence, already is being debated throughout the country. One of the most popular forms of discussion is a series of symposia organized in state after state by the Daily Times of Nigeria.

This is the draft the constituent assembly will work on. Basically it recommends the American type of executive pre-eminence. It also



Ona face of Nigeria — as country moves cautiously back to democracy

proposes a mixed economy for the country.

At least one critic, Dr. Mike Ukpong of the New University of Calabar, said in an interview that the introduction of "certain elements of socialism" into the otherwise capitalist economic system could lead to a lot of problems. Dr. Ukpong would like to see the country's policymakers adopt a political and economic system that would allow the states to have their own

constitutions designed to suit their individual cultures.

Criticizing the proposed method of electing the country's president, Dr. Ukpong said it was so regionally oriented that it would entail the risk of another civil war since it would make it possible for a tribal leader to emerge as president even though he did not have countrywide support.

## Smith's own solution: will he delay it?

By Michael Oshman  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Salisbury, Rhodesia  
Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith apparently has shelved his plan to go ahead on his own with a blueprint for fuller black participation in government — the so-called "internal" solution to the Rhodesian crisis.

This is the outcome of his talks last week in Cape Town with South African Prime Minister John Vorster.

Mr. Smith's internal solution would involve negotiating with moderate black nationalist leaders of his own choosing and having nothing to do with the Patriotic Front of Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe in white Rhodesian eyes, the latter two are Marxist-dominated and committed to the obliteration of any white residual position in a black-run Zimbabwe (as Africans call Rhodesia). But Nkomo and Mr. Mugabe do have links with the black guerrilla movement, and the United States and British governments believe any workable solution must be worked out in conjunction with them.

In Cape Town, Mr. Vorster apparently urged Mr. Smith to stay his hand for the moment and provide more time for U.S. and British efforts to get all parties — including Mr. Smith and the Patriotic Front leaders — back to the negotiating table.

Mr. Smith first announced his plan to go ahead with an internal solution on Jan. 24, after the breakdown at the Geneva conference on Rhodesia.

### Key issues dodged

In the intervening three weeks, there has been no further details, and at two press conferences since his original announcement Mr. Smith had dodged questions on the two key issues: (1) who are the black leaders he is to invite to Rhodesian talks and (2) how will he test their support?

Although Mr. Smith may say more when the Rhodesian Parliament begins a new session this week, observers in Salisbury believe there are two main reasons for the delay:

1. An internal settlement has been firmly rejected by the U.S. Government. That is a serious rebuff for Mr. Smith, who made it clear in a mid-January interview that he expected the Carter administration to honor the agreement he reached in Pretoria last September with former U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger for the transfer of power to black majority rule within two years.

2. If internal talks are to have any credibility at all, they require the participation of the African National Council led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa, probably the most popular of the black leaders. But so far the bishop is sticking in his refusal to negotiate outside Geneva unless Mr. Smith surrenders power to the country's 1.2 million blacks and new talks take place under a British chairman.

### Change toward Britain

The most revealing feature of Mr. Smith's press conference given on his return from the Cape Town meeting with Mr. Vorster was his changed attitude to the continued involvement of the British Government.

Since the adjournment last December of the Geneva conference on Rhodesia there has been a steady stream of bitter and often derogatory comments from Mr. Smith himself, from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and on radio and television news commentaries about the role of Britain and the integrity of conference chairman Ivo Richard.

Yet on Feb. 10 Mr. Smith said, surprisingly, that there was a more than average chance that both Britain and the United States would participate in future negotiations.

In return for this switch, it is assumed here that Mr. Smith got from the South African Prime Minister an assurance that indirect assistance to Rhodesia in the form of fuel and arms for the war, and normal trade relations, would continue.

## Israel claims oil rights in the Sinai

## Oil search complicates peacemakers' task

By John K. Cooley  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Israel has reacted coolly to the U.S. rebuke on Israeli oil drilling operations in the Gulf of Suez.

On the eve of U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's arrival in Israel the State Department in Washington said that Israel's oil exploration in an area under Egyptian jurisdiction before Israeli occupation of the Sinai peninsula in the 1967 war might endanger efforts to achieve a permanent Middle East peace. That, said an Israeli official in Jerusalem, was "a vast overstatement, out of all proportion to the facts."

Yet third parties aware of the facts in both Cairo and Jerusalem have been quietly saying all winter what the State Department said publicly earlier this week.

Israeli drilling rigs, protected by Israeli gunboats, appear to be close to oil discoveries in the offshore Sinai zone near Al Tur, where Israel claims oil rights. Such discoveries might remove any remaining Israeli willingness to return Sinai to Egypt in a peace settlement or perhaps even to go to a peace conference where this was certain to be an issue with Egyptian President Sadat's government.

The crisis area in the Gulf of Suez is offshore between Al Tur and the Egyptian offshore field known as Al Murgan. Two originally Egyptian-operated oil fields on the eastern side of the gulf — at Abu Hadeis and Ralayan — held by the Israelis from 1967 onward were returned to Egyptian control in early 1972 under the second Sinai withdrawal agreement negotiated by former U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger.

Last Jan. 17 in an unusual report on oil — which is subject to strict censorship in Israel — Israeli television said traces of oil found in Sinai near Al Tur may prove to be in commercial quantities. Drilling would determine this within two weeks, the report said.

According to U.S. sources in Cairo, Israeli crews covered by naval units last Sept. 2, drove away an oil rig belonging to the Egyptian-Amoco (Standard Oil of Indiana) partnership, the Gulf of Suez Petroleum Company (GUPCO), just east of midpoint in the 16-mile wide Gulf of Suez.

They destroyed the U.S.-Egyptian rig's marker buoys with gunfire, then threatened to machine-gun the drill rig and cut it adrift. Since then, the Israelis have made further shows of naval force in the area and GUPCO crews have suspended drilling on or east of the median line in the Gulf of Suez. An Israeli rig with 24-hour patrol boat protection began drilling in December. U.S. and Egyptian oilmen on the western shore have been watching for any gas flare which would disclose an oil strike deep in the gulf.

The Israeli drilling rig, named Springbok after it was refitted in South Africa, is manned by Americans and Canadians working for undisclosed paper companies thought to have been formed especially for the purpose. Arab states immediately blacklist any Western oil

firms known to be operating for Israel.

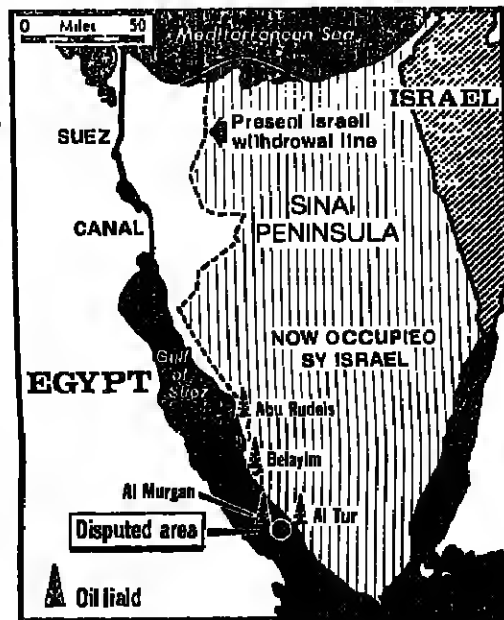
The Israeli offshore drilling is taking place on a site granted by Egyptian Government lease to Amoco in 1974, after the first Egyptian-Israeli Sinai accord following the 1973 war.

When the U.S.-Egyptian rig was chased away by the Israelis last September, it was on an area leased to GUPCO by Egypt in 1964.

Israel claims that conquest of Sinai gave it de facto oil rights in adjoining Red Sea waters. The U.S. position, hitherto expressed only discreetly by U.S. State Department officials, has been to support Egypt's view that the 1907 Hague Convention governing occupied territory forbids developing new resources in such territory.

After seizing Sinai in the 1967 war, Israel pumped up to 8 million tons of crude oil a year from the Egyptian oil fields there, covering most of its needs. It imports these now mainly from Iran, with the United States underwriting the cost, and sells some oil in barter deals to Communist East European countries.

President Sadat said in 1974 that in any peace settlement Egypt would claim \$2.1 bil-



By Joan Forbes, staff cartographer

lion compensation from Israel for the Sinai oil pumped out during 1967-74. But up to now he has not permitted the new oil problem with Israel in the Red Sea to become a public issue of contention with Israel.

## Lebanon: can Beirut get its old job back as Middle East financial center?

By Helena Cobban  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Beirut, Lebanon  
"Our aim," says Lebanese Premier Selim al-Hoss, "is to encourage foreign investment. We believe Beirut can regain its old role as the financial center of the Middle East. In all our reconstruction efforts we are starting from the view that Lebanon is primarily a services economy."

To date, Dr. Hoss and his governmental team have had a little over two months to put these aims into practice. Shortly after it was formed, the government was given emergency powers for a period of six months, in order to deal with the many problems arising out of the 18 months of bitter conflict that had wrecked the country.

Already, Dr. Hoss says, representatives of foreign businesses have been visiting the country to investigate its economic potential and in what seems to be a favorite phrase of his, "I think the process will snowball."

But as he lists the unhappy legacies of the fighting, Dr. Hoss betrays his background as a trained economist (and ex-president of a government-backed development bank) by doing so methodically and dispassionately.

### 'Social casualties' cited

"The most pressing problems are those social casualties of the strife," he explains. "Unemployment, vast numbers of war-wounded and handicapped, disruption of communications and — greatest of all — the problem of the homeless."

The number of these latter he put at "slightly less" than a previously reported 300,000. He described the government's policy as being to encourage all the displaced to return to their former homes and to provide them the necessary facilities for rebuilding.

As he listed the tasks facing his compact governmental team, Dr. Hoss tended to minimize the political challenges it might face. On the internal, Lebanese front, he said he considered that the constitutional questions which have dogged Lebanon's history as a modern nation, "will not be a significant area of debate. (The constitutional questions center mainly on the respective shares of the Christian and Muslim communities in government and public life.)

"Already," he said, "big progress has been



UPI photo

### Hoss: Inviting foreign investment

nude toward restoring the old ethnic-religious balancing act and the process will snowball."

Externally, too, he hopes for only a few problems.

### 'Mideast question' shunned

"Our primary concern is to isolate our situation from the Middle East question (i.e., the Arab-Israeli dispute)," he explains. "A settlement, after all through Geneva or otherwise — might take months or years. Therefore we cannot link our destiny to that."

"As long as cooperation prevails between the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and Lebanon," he adds, "I don't foresee any problems."

One of Dr. Hoss's first tasks as prime minister was to make extensive tours of other Arab countries, including the oil-producing states, to explain the priorities of Lebanese reconstruction and ask for contributions toward funding it.

He says that on his travels he was able to use only rough "guesstimates" of the country's losses, which still cannot be measured accurately.

Some of these guesstimates were:

- Direct material damages, between \$2.5 and \$3.8 billion.
- Budget deficits over the next couple of years, about \$1 billion.
- Indirect, losses such as national income foregone up to 1980, \$7.2 billion.

Progress, Dr. Hoss implies, has been slow. "But by the end of our six-months' emergency powers, we will have many achievements," he says. "And foreign investors will wait till then to make their decisions."

"Time," he argues, "is at last on our side."

### Beirut rebuilding planned

The Lebanese Government has hired a French team of urbanists to plan the reconstruction of the war-torn city of Beirut, the French company has announced.

The Parisian Urbanism Atelier (APUR), which is controlled by the City of Paris and the French Government, will submit its initial plans to Lebanese officials at the end of the month and will present a detailed reconstruction project by May.

APUR already has sent a team of urbanists, architects, technicians, and engineers to the Lebanese capital to collect information.

## At the African festival: many tongues, one people

By Arthur O. Ezenekwe  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Lagos, Nigeria  
In a way, the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC) was like the scene at the foot of the collapsed Tower of Babel: Of the 15,000 who came here to participate, hardly anyone was speaking in a tongue understandable to anyone else. And even participants from the same country disagreed on what was to be done and how to do it.

On the other hand, the music, dances, drama, and other forms of entertainment that dominated the 29-day festival sounded a note of common identity — an echo of the common desire among black people everywhere to regain control over their destiny.

FESTAC was designed "to ensure the revival, resurgence, propagation, and promotion of black and African culture and black and African cultural values, and civilization . . . to promote black and African artists, performers, and writers, and facilitate their world acceptance and their access to world outlets."

FESTAC '77, unlike the first World Festival of Negro Arts in Dakar, Senegal, in 1966, also had strong political undertones. This is not surprising, for black people have felt oppressed for a very long time. And with the emergence of rich and powerful nations in the African continent, a new sense of pride had developed.

The heart of the Lagos festival was a colloquium — a sort of workshop — in which more than 700 participants from about 50 countries presented papers on black civilization and education. Many seemed to lose their way in trying to determine whether black civilization should be considered as the property of one Africa with no distinction made between black Africa and white Africa, or whether it should be seen as a black world rooted in Africa but transcending the continent's frontiers, reaching out into the diaspora.

Although a committee is working on a final report on the colloquium, a first report presented these recommendations:

- Present African political structures based on Western institutions should be modified to incorporate traditional institutions and values such as a council of elders and customary courts. Domination and dictatorship as well as autonomy should be eliminated; decision-making and resolution of conflict should be governed by the idea of consensus, dialogue, consultation, and moderation.
- African socialism should be adopted as a common ideology. Its values and principles include the concept of collective ownership, the family as the basic unit of production, and a production of wealth geared toward satisfaction of want rather than profitmaking and accumulation.
- Systems of elections must be free, and legislatures must move away from the Western

parliamentary practice of majority rule to be guided by African traditional principles of consensus.

Participants at the colloquium also suggested the transformation of the mass media into positive instruments for the promotion of the interests of African peoples.

Ironically, when the issue of adopting a common language was raised, the only suggestion was Swahili. That proposal, from Nigerian playwright and poet Wole Soyinka, ran into strong opposition.

There seemed to be a consensus on the desire to purge the African culture of foreign influences, and to hand over the purified cultural heritage to succeeding generations through education. But the deep-rooted influences of both the Christian and Muslim religions would work against that goal.

Although the organizers of the festival may have expected participants to leave Lagos enriched by contacts with "brothers and sisters" from other cultures, the program was so tight and communication and transportation were so difficult there was little opportunity for intermingling.

As costs have doubled and redoubled, with no final tally yet available, many Nigerians say their government made a big blunder in agreeing to play host to such a large festival.

But the festival has left Nigerians with a sense of pride, for the government overmounted many problems to make the festival succeed.

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# Asia

## India's press: free but wary

Despite lifting of censorship stiff law remains in force

By Mohan Ram

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

New Delhi

India's newspapers have been quick to take advantage of the relaxation of the state of emergency announced late last month by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

But it all may be temporary. As the relaxation of the emergency — and its accompanying withdrawal of press censorship — entered its third week, observers here were commenting on these developments and changes:

• The office of the chief censor has been closed, but in its place is an office of "press adviser." Still, the withdrawal of notices on alleged offenders that had been issued by the chief censor's office seems to be proof that Mrs. Gandhi's government does desire normal campaigning for the elections that have been called for March 16-20.

• Journals of opinion that close to close rather than submit to pre-censorship are resuming publication. For example, *Mint*, a pro-Soviet left-wing weekly that shut down only five weeks ago, is back again.

• Reporting is more balanced — and more objective — than had been the case previously. But comment in the papers accustomed to being critical of the government is sharp. When opposition leader Jayaprakash Narayan asserted that the election issue is between democracy and dictatorship, it was duly reported in the national dailies.

Still, persons who watch the situation closely say the fact that censorship has only been suspended implies a warning to journalists that they had better "behave" if they do not want to rue the consequences once the election is over. As one columnist noted: "Either there is censorship or there is not; it is not a thing that can be suspended unless the objective is to cause fear."

Even if the censorship order is scrapped altogether, it is noted, the government has lost none of its powers because a stringent law, the Prevention of Publication of Objectionable Matter Act, has been in effect since December, 1975. The law covers anything that is printed, including maps and sheet music, and deems objectionable any words, signs, or other visible representations that are likely to incite hatred or contempt of the government or state — or to excite disaffection toward the government or state.

The law is applicable to "normal" times and does not take into account the rhetoric of an election campaign. But since it is the effect of words — and not the intention of the writer — that matters, critics warn that those who contest elections or cover them (and even the printers who print their stories) will have to be careful about what they say.

This law also has been given immunity from constitutional challenge.

Moreover, under the emergency the constitutional provisions for equality and personal liberty stand suspended, and a citizen cannot petition the courts for their enforcement. Therefore, it will not be possible to challenge the campaign advantages enjoyed by Mrs. Gandhi's ruling Congress Party because of government control of radio and television here.

In the meantime, sources say the decision to call elections



Mrs. Gandhi — less pressure on press

was greeted with unmeasured relief by Indian embassies in several key Western capitals.

These embassies have been fighting a losing battle to try to convince the West that the emergency was only a passing phase and that this country soon would return to its democratic ways.

"Goodwill missions" sponsored by the Indian Government to "explain" the emergency to Western Europeans apparently made little impact, and reports back to New Delhi told of hopelessness of trying to convince the news media of the situation for press censorship.

Whether the coming elections will restore Western faith in Indian democracy remains to be seen. Editorial comment so far has been cautious.

# Australia

## Australia's birthplace: will factories spoil Botany Bay?

By Ronald Vickers  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Sydney, Australia

Botany Bay, the birthplace of Australia, is to be developed as a major port and industrial area — and not everybody here likes the idea.

The bay, which is located at the southern edge of Sydney, is planned as a supplement to Port Jackson, otherwise known as Sydney harbor.

The government of the state of New South Wales has decided to push ahead with the development of the bay despite opposition from environmentalists — and, say local residents, in spite of its own promises.

Work actually had begun on the project under the previous Liberal-Country Party government, but it was held up last May when the voters ousted that administration and elected the Labor Party in its place.

The Labor Party promised during the campaign that it would hold an environmental inquiry into the Botany Bay project if it was elected. After the election such an inquiry was held, but local residents say it fell far short of the full environmental impact study they had expected.

The final report after the inquiry admitted that not much was known about the likely social and ecological effects of Botany Bay de-

velopment, but it nevertheless recommended that the government go ahead with most of the proposed project anyway. It did, however, recommend against installation of a coal-binder, needed for increased exports to Japan, on the grounds that it would cause excessive pollution.

Since the report was issued, the state government has approved such projects as bulk liquid storage facilities, six new container ship berths, new roads, and railroad tracks.

Environmentalists worry that these facilities represent only the beginning of a massive program that eventually will transform Botany Bay into a highly polluted industrial complex and a busy port.

Says Dr. Geoffrey Lacey, a civil engineer and chairman of the Botany Bay Coordinating and Action Committee, "Not nearly enough is known about the environmental effects of development . . . and what is known is bad. There are no strong prevailing winds to sweep away polluted air, and photochemical smog already reaches serious levels. Development will place further stress on an overloaded transport system, and noise pollution will rise. If the government . . . admits super-tankers to the bay there will be a risk of oil spills, accidents, and explosions."

The bay, says Dr. Lacey, is an oyster and fish breeding area. He feels the impact of in-

dustrial development on its ecology will be disastrous.

Kevin Ryan, who narrowly won election to the state Parliament from the Labor Party last May and who represents the Botany Bay suburbs, said he would like to see the national birdplace remain unspoiled, but the government "had to be pragmatic about it."

## Scientists debate nuclear safety

By Ronald Vickers  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Sydney, Australia

A great debate is under way in Australia over the issue of expanding this country's uranium industry and exports.

It centers on the cautious go-ahead for further exploitation of Australia's vast uranium reserves, given by the government-appointed Fox commission's inquiry into the uranium industry.

A campaign against further mining — and the nuclear development it could fuel — has been widespread publicly.

In January 20th scientists joined forces "to oppose uranium." They included Richard Temple, professor of physical chemistry, and

Charles Birch, professor of biology, both of Sydney University, and Rob Altham, radiation protection officer at Melbourne University. The scientists said they were convinced that the dangers of nuclear waste, the possibility of accidents or of blackmail by terrorists, and the likely proliferation of nuclear weapons far outweighed any benefits Australia might derive from the mining and export of its uranium.

A rebuttal by Leslie Kenney, senior lecturer in nuclear engineering at the University of New South Wales, received much less attention.

Meanwhile, prominent scientists like Sir Philip Baxter and Sir Ernest Titterton continue to speak out in favor of immediate uranium development.

## Pakistan's March elections: politicians make their promises

Special to

The Christian Science Monitor

Rawalpindi, Pakistan

The two sides have drawn their battle lines for next month's Pakistani elections, the first in this country in more than six years.

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of the ruling Pakistan People's Party (PPP) would conduct business pretty much as usual if his administration is returned to power. His opponents, the nine-party coalition known as the Pakistan National Alliance, would give top priority to military preparedness and would take the country out of the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), its chief security shield.

Pakistanis will go to the polls March 7 to elect 200 members to the National Assembly — and again on March 10 to elect 460 members to the four provincial legislative assemblies.

The PPP campaign platform pledges no new nationalization measures, but it does say that industries nationalized in the past five years would continue to be run by the state. It makes no major promises for the eradication of illiteracy — at present about 80 percent of the population is unlettered — but it does aim to boost elementary and primary school enrollments by more than 10 million students.

Considerable gains in rural and urban development are promised, however, especially in the housing and health sectors. And the economic goals for the next five years include a 50 percent increase in national production, boosting wheat output to 12.5 million tons a year and rice output to 3.6 million tons, as well as self-sufficiency in chemical fertilizer, petroleum, and steel.

Prime Minister Bhutto plans to follow the present format of his foreign policy, based on bilateralism — or conducting friendly relations on a one-to-one basis with other countries without getting involved in their conflicts. The PPP platform promises increasingly vigorous efforts to firm up Pakistan's ties with the "third world" and with fellow Muslim countries.

"We will continue to support the idea of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean," says the manifesto, "including the security of its non-nuclear-weapons states. We will work with like-minded nations in the region to ensure the establishment of a balanced structure of relationships among the countries of South Asia."

It also resolves to seek a solution of the Kashmir problem with India through negotiations on the basis of self-determination for the Kashmiri people. But at the same time it pledges to strengthen the armed forces and enhance their mobility and establish facilities for the manufacture of missiles, tanks, aircraft, submarines and other naval craft, and sophisticated electronic equipment.

Political observers think the Bhutto-PPP manifesto has avoided full promises because

the ruling party is confident of enacting to victory and because of a desire to consolidate the gains of the past five years.

The National Alliance, these observers say, may win some victories in urban areas, but its performance in rural constituencies is not likely to be impressive. It is boycotting the elections in Baluchistan, for example, and already the chief minister of that province as well as his counterparts in Sind and the Punjab stand re-elected without opposition — as does Prime Minister Bhutto, himself in his own constituency.

In announcing his party's election platform Feb. 8, secretary-general Chaudhry Rafiq Bajwa said the National Alliance is pledged to follow a nonaligned foreign policy. Pakistan at present is grouped in CENTO with Britain, Iran, and Turkey — with the United States participating in all activities although it is not a full member.

The opposition also called for compulsory military training for every male citizen between the ages of 18 and 45, self-sufficiency in armaments with the help of other Muslim countries, and permission for every citizen to

own "proper" arms for the defense of the country.

Military preparedness was necessary, the opposition alliance said, in view of what it called great dangers by India in this sphere.

Opposition leaders have charged that some of their candidates were kidnapped or subjected to other coercive methods by the ruling party to prevent them from filing the necessary nomination papers, especially in rural areas. They charged that the Bhutto administration had a hand in these incidents. The administration has denied all the charges.

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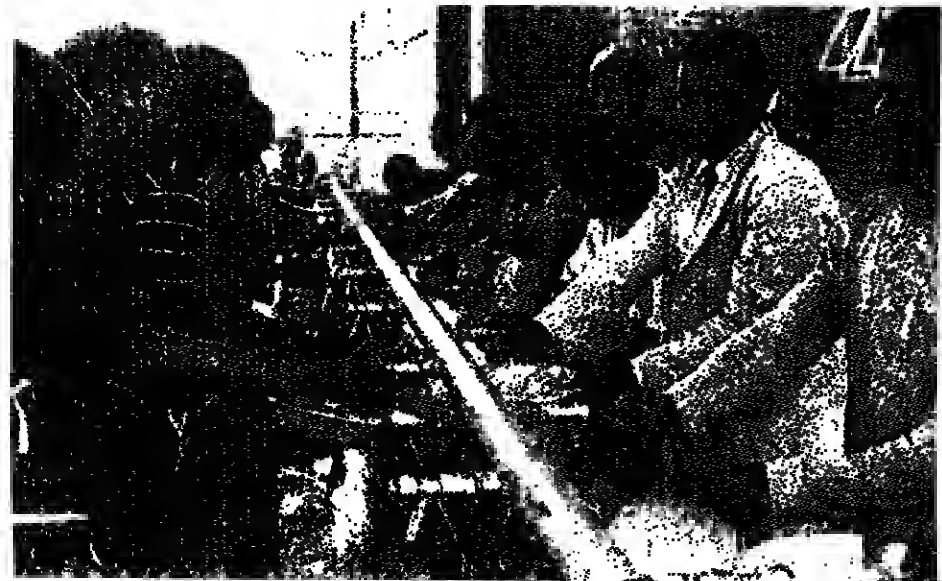
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Workers at a gold mine near Johannesburg do the washing up

By Sven Simon

From page 1

## \*South African blacks

But only 4,000 have paid union dues. This is largely because union workers are not allowed to deduct dues from a worker's pay. Instead they must go to the factories on pay day, and they often are harassed by employers and police.

Evidence that black unions are gaining strength is shown, in an inverse way, by the government's banning (heavily restricting) nearly 30 labor-connected people last November.

The stand such trade union leaders as Lucy Mvubelo of the Textile and Garment Workers Union and Ronnie Webb of TUCSA take on the banning does little to help black unity. Both say that many of those banned were not bona-fide trade union leaders but educationists, merely teaching blacks how to organize unions.

Black unions are increasing their ties to international bodies. Ten unions connected with the Urban Training Project (UTP), an independent organization set up in 1971 to help educate blacks in labor rights, have ties with the British Trades Union Congress and with Dutch Unions.

Mrs. Mvubelo says she is trying to get the American AFL-CIO to send representatives to South Africa. She hopes to convince them that black unions should not operate separately from white unions.

From page 1

## \*Keeping up with the Joneskis

trudging snowy streets in bulky coat and hat, firmly grasping his string shopping bag, is less concerned with ideology than with finding what he wants. (The nickname for his bag is "avoska," which means perhaps or maybe.)

Observers also say that the affluent lifestyles of senior party members are either known or guessed at by many a Soviet citizen, who is still a long, long way from enjoying such forbidden fruits himself.

The depth of official concern is mirrored in the two latest issues of *Communist*, the theoretical and political journal of the party Central Committee.

A lengthy analysis in the final issue of 1976, undoubtedly cleared at highest party levels before publication, lays the blame for conspicuous consumption at the corrupting door of tasteless Western advertising and consumerism. These influences are reaching Soviet young people with ideas incompatible with socialist and communist ways of life, the analysis says.

People are becoming imbued with such reprehensible ideas as individualism and, even worse, with indifference to the policy of the party.

Western ideas are coming in partly because of détente: Expanded contacts with the West lead to a certain expansion of the material requirements of Soviet people.

Since détente is the declared public policy of Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev, V. Pechenyev, the author of the analysis, adds that on the whole, this is positive. It opens the country up to good ideas as well as bad.

But the party, he says, must watch out for the purely superficial, ostentatious side of Western life, which provides rich soil for the

spreading of moods, customs, and views characteristic of so-called consumer life.

What Mr. Pechenyev, equivalent of an assistant professor of philosophy, must think of the [Soviet] Western-style rock music blaring in clubs from Estonia to Siberia one can only imagine.

The party must work harder to offset bad outside influences, he says, and must itself fill basic and cultural needs. He rejects critics such as the extreme leftist Herbert Marcuse, who says Moscow will never succeed in forming a new socialist man. And he opposes the notion that complaints about consumer goods here mean any real weakening of revolutionary fiber.

According to its own theory, the Soviet Union is in an advanced, or developed, state of socialism. The ultimate state is to be communism, in which each citizen will contribute according to his ability and receive according to his need.

In the first issue of *Communist* for 1977, V. Tolstikh writes that Russians have no need to take the West's path of forming consumer needs and (then) satisfying consumer demands.

The party's dilemma is that it must oppose the materialism it does not like — buying for possession or status rather than for simple needs — with the materialism it does like — its own Marxist-Leninist ideology of dialectical materialism.

Whereas those in the West can turn to religion and moral values to oppose unrestrained materialism, the party here offers its own solution: that people's lives ought to be centered on their work.

From page 1

## \*U.S.-Soviet arms debate

Not long thereafter, John Collins, a senior defense analyst with the research services of the Library of Congress, did a study showing the Soviets were making gains — not only in the quantity of their strategic and conventional weapons, but also in the quality.

Four months ago, a group of prominent citizens generally regarded as "hard-liners" in their attitudes toward the Soviet Union organized a "Committee on the Present Danger" and sounded their own alarm over what they perceived to be a drive by the Soviets toward strategic dominance.

The debate began to gain wider attention when the retiring Air Force chief of intelligence, Maj. Gen. George J. Keegan Jr., came out with a claim that the Russians were not just driving for superiority but had already achieved it, a claim which most experts quickly refuted.

Controversial leaks of information concerning a panel of outside experts who were commissioned on the recommendation of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board to take a look at the annual intelligence estimate of Soviet capabilities and intentions indicated that the Soviets were, indeed, striving for superiority — if they had not already achieved it.

On its way out of office, the Ford administration did little to discourage such reports. An exception was outgoing Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, who said he did not believe the Soviet Union was achieving military supremacy.

All this occurred against a background of considerable public disillusionment with the policy of "détente," a policy which had been highly publicized by President Nixon as he fought for his political life in the Watergate affair.

"Détente" had suffered from Soviet actions during the Middle East war of 1973 and in Angola in 1975-76. Many analysts had begun to suspect the worst of the Soviets. And "hard-liners" in the defense debate began to stress the theme that, while the Russians were probably not crazy enough to launch a nuclear attack, they desired nuclear superiority as a means of exerting political leverage — possibly with the intent of "blackmailing" Western Europe and engaging in further "Angolas."

The missile gap debate was much narrower than the one that's going on now," says a veteran Defense Department analyst. "I think the only thing comparable to that would have been the kind of debate we had right after the war, when we were putting together a base strategy for dealing with and competing with the Soviets."

The current debate could mark both a psychological and technological turning point. New American attitudes toward the Soviet Union could be generated affecting relations and arms control agreements for an indefinite period.

Technologically, both the U.S. and Soviet Union are on the verge of launching into the full-scale development of whole "families" of new weapons which will immensely complicate the business of trying to verify who is or is not adhering to an arms agreement.

But President Carter and his new team appear to be rejecting what they consider to be alarmist views of Soviet intentions.

Mr. Carter's statements have been disturbing to the "hawks" in the national security establishment. But what has perhaps ruffled their feathers more than anything else has been the President's appointments in the national security field.

Some of the "hawks" had pressed for the return of former Secretary of Defense James H. Schlesinger to his old Pentagon job. But Mr. Carter appointed instead a more "moderate" figure, Harold Brown.

Mr. Carter's most controversial appointment in this important field, however, has proven to be Paul F. Warnke as chief arms control executive.

From page 1

## \*Carter's Israel policy

ally recognized as being Israeli territory, to Jerusalem, whose definitive status the U.S. Government, along with many others, regards as still officially to be determined.

Mr. Carter stated that he personally disapproved of that plank in the Democratic platform and had explicitly rejected it during the campaign. In other words, Mr. Carter is not agreeing with the Israeli contention that the ancient city of Jerusalem is irrevocably part of Israel.

Feb. 7: The State Department spokesman announced that the United States Government had vetoed the sale by Israel to Ecuador of 24 Israeli-built Kfir fighter-bombers on the ground that "this particular sale would run counter to our own policy against the transfer of advanced and sophisticated weapons to Latin America." The Kfir airplane is built in Israel, but it uses American-made engines.

Feb. 8: Mr. Carter at his first post-inauguration press conference was asked whether he would carry out the promise made by former President Gerald R. Ford during the election campaign to give Israel four of America's newest and most sophisticated weapons, including the so-called concussion bomb. Mr. Carter said he had ordered a review of the matter and would have a decision on the bomb shortly.

Feb. 14: The State Department spokesman said that the government of the United States considers that the drilling for oil in occupied Arab territory by Israel is "illegal" and "is not helpful to efforts to get peace negotiations under way."

Feb. 15: "Administration officials" were quoted by the Associated Press as saying that the sale to Israel of the concussion bomb had been canceled, but that the formal announcement

ment would be held up until Mr. Vance had left Israel or returned to Washington.

Feb. 15 was also the day Mr. Vance landed in Israel on his tour of the Middle East and repeated the American commitment to the security and survival of Israel and to its values.

The toughest and most difficult issue to American-Israeli relations over many years has been the point of control over the supply of American weapons and aid to Israel. Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson were all careful to keep their hands on the controls. President Nixon did the same during most of his first term in the White House, but in 1972, during the campaign, he in effect took it off a virtual promise that Israel could have anything it wanted.

President Ford attempted to regulate the flow of American aid and weapons to Israel, but did not succeed. When he attempted to do so, the Israeli lobby in Washington went over his head to Congress. In the end, during the campaign, he reverted to the Nixon policy of letting Israel decide what Israel should have for its security.

The issue over control of the flow now is re-joined. The Carter actions on the concussion bomb, on the sale to Ecuador, on the oil drilling, and on the location of the embassy all disclose a desire and an intention on Mr. Carter's part to regain the control over aid and support to Israel which President Eisenhower asserted and kept.

It really comes down to a test of strength in Washington between the White House and the Israeli lobby. The lobby has won most rounds since the days of Lyndon Johnson, which will the days of Jimmy Carter? It will be a fascinating test of Mr. Carter's political skill and strength.

## Moscow's missile sets NATO on edge

Mobile missile could fire nuclear warheads at any European target

By Takashi Uka  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

London

Somewhere in the snow-capped forests of the western Ukraine, preparations are going ahead to deploy a new, mobile missile with multiple nuclear warheads — the sleek SS-20. Unless, that is, President Carter's appeal to Moscow at his Feb. 8 press conference is heeded.

Solid-fueled, easily transportable, with an accurate guidance system, the SS-20 (which is the code name North Atlantic Treaty Organization experts give it) can be fired from a mobile launcher to reach any target in Western Europe.

This year, NATO believes, it will start replacing the bulky, liquid-propelled, inaccurate SS-4s and SS-5s which have been sited in the western Soviet Union for the past 15 years.

The SS-4 and SS-5s and the SS-20s which are about to replace them are intermediate range ballistic missiles (IRBM). They are not included in the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) between the United States and the Soviet Union because, not being of intercontinental range, they do not threaten the United States.

They are not included in the East-West talks going on in Vienna on the mutual reduction of forces in Central Europe. Since they are sited inside the Soviet Union, they do not fall within the geographic area of the talks. An estimated 7,000 American tactical nuclear warheads in Western Europe are included in the Vienna talks, however. The NATO allies have offered to remove 1,000 nuclear warheads if the Soviet Union will withdraw one complete tank army from the Central European region.

These Soviet missiles are not tactical, battlefield weapons. They are designed to hit targets like London or Paris. The presently deployed SS-4s and SS-5s, because of their inaccuracy, must be weapons of area destruction. The SS-20s, which have no counterpart in the American nuclear arsenal, will be able to pinpoint targets more precisely.

As Mr. Carter said, if the Soviets do not cease deployment of mobile missiles like the SS-20, it "would put a great pressure on us to develop a mobile missile of our own."

The official attitude of most NATO allies to-

ward this Soviet nuclear threat, targeted specifically against West Europe, is that it is countered by the nuclear umbrella the United States holds over them.

Overall, as Mr. Carter pointed out, the United States and the Soviet Union are roughly equal in nuclear strength, each has the capacity to destroy the other. The allies, officially, trust American assurances that a Soviet attack on, say, Paris or London would invite instant nuclear retaliation from the United States. That, after all, is the meaning of alliance; an attack on one is an attack on all.

Nevertheless, there is dispute that the Soviet Union should be explicitly targeting so many nuclear missiles against Western Europe and that it should now, with the SS-20, be seeking to upgrade the efficiency of these missiles.

Again, as President Carter pointed out, once these missiles become mobile, they are difficult to detect, and therefore difficult to bring within the framework of any arms control agreement.

The authoritative Institute for Strategic Studies in London estimates that, whereas the Warsaw Pact forces have 600 intermediate-range ballistic missiles targeted against Europe, NATO forces have only 146. Of these 146 are British submarine-launched missiles, 64 French submarine-launched missiles, and 18 French land-based IRBMs. The "Euro-strategic balance," in short, is lopsidedly in favor of the Soviet Union.

France is a member of NATO but does not participate in NATO's integrated military structure. One important reason the French developed their own independent nuclear deterrent is that they were unwilling to trust their nuclear security entirely to the United States. Perhaps, if Paris and not New York were threatened with nuclear attack, the United States would be willing to attack Leningrad or Kiev. But the French prefer to have their own deterrent as well.

Why does the Soviet Union maintain such a huge arsenal of strategic, not tactical, nuclear weapons targeted on Europe? Does it expect to overawe the Europeans, to hold West Europe hostage, as it were, should a war erupt between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union?

No one has the answer. Perhaps the Carter appeal will snuff out Soviet intentions.



Soviet tanks on the western border of U.S.S.R. — where missiles also lurk

Soviet

## Suggestions from Washington experts

## How President Carter can save money on U.S. defense

By John Dillin  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

If President Carter really wants to slash waste out of the U.S. defense budget, there are any number of experts around this city who will tell him how to do it.

Interviews on Capitol Hill, at the Brookings Institution, and several independent studies point to a number of areas ripe for savings. Among them:

- Curbing excessive pay. Blue-collar civilians who work for the Defense Department are paid up to 35 percent more than their civilian counterparts. Halting this practice could save \$500 million a year.

- Limiting rank. The average rank of both military and civilian personnel in the Defense Department is higher today than 10 years ago. This practice, called "grade creep," apparently got out of control and costs the military \$1 billion a year in higher salaries.

- Adopting pension reform. Current practice allows retirement with handsome benefits after 20 years. This leads to shortages of experienced personnel and is extremely costly. Reform that put military retirement more in

line with civilian practices could save up to \$2 billion a year by the year 2000.

- Closing bases. An estimated \$500 million a year could be saved by closing additional bases, some of which still relate to a time when America had 12 million men under arms in World War II.

- Cutting down on transfers. Military personnel are moved too often. In the view of defense critics, including President Carter, career planning could pare the military's current moving budget of \$2.7 billion a year.

- Instituting training reform. The military spends \$7 billion a year for training programs. Critics say the training schools are heavily overstaffed and that current personnel practices cause excessive turnover of military personnel, which in turn increases training costs.

- Tying white-collar pay to living costs. Scales for white-collar employees in the Defense Department are uniform all over the United States. As a result, defense pay is considered high in low-cost areas like Georgia, but low in high-cost areas like New York City. Payment on a sliding scale according to the cost of living would give better staffing, while saving the Defense Department \$40 million a year.

- Adopting a straight salary system. Many people in the military do not realize how high their pay is because food, housing, and other benefits are often provided free. Some reformers think military personnel should be paid a straight salary that would reflect all their benefits. That would make recruitment easier, and reduce turnover, it is believed.

- Cutting back on overseas troops. Some defense specialists say there is no longer a need for U.S. Army troops in South Korea. Selective cutbacks there and elsewhere could bring some savings.

- Eliminating "amnl" items. Subsidized veterinary care for the pets of military personnel — an unnecessary luxury, say critics — costs \$1 million a year. Enlisted aides for high-ranking officers cost about \$5 million a year. Subsidized dining rooms for military brass in Washington cost an estimated \$1 million a year.

During his two-year presidential campaign, Mr. Carter vowed to trim \$5 billion to \$7 billion in waste from the defense budget, including things like overlapping weapons systems.

Defense specialists doubt that President Carter can make these cuts as quickly as he promised. But they say that at least that much fel-

can eventually be trimmed with an efficiency program extending over several years.

Next year's defense budget includes funding for three separate close-air-support aircraft — one for the Army, one for the Air Force, and one for the Marines.

The Army plans to build 536 advanced attack helicopters, an all-weather model that can pop up quickly, fire laser-guided missiles at enemy armor, then dodge behind a hill to avoid retaliatory fire.

The Air Force, meanwhile, has completed initial testing of its own front-line, anti-armor aircraft, the A-10 attack plane. Air Force spokesmen insist the A-10 has important advantages over the Army's chopper.

The Marines, not satisfied with either the Army or Air Force models, went abroad to purchase the AV-8A, a vertical takeoff and landing plane. They say the AV-8A has some of the maneuverability of a helicopter with some of the load-carrying capacity of the A-10. The Marines now are working on an advanced model, the AV-8B.

Congress was unable to decide which of the three aircraft is best, so it's just funded all three programs," notes a source with ties to the House Armed Services Committee.



# United States

## New-broom Carter: Congress hampers clean sweep of red-tape

By Peter C. Stuart  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

In his efforts to trim the federal bureaucracy, President Carter is likely to find Congress willing to arm him with legislative shears but reluctant to let him use them.

Behind this seeming contradiction is a growing expectation that the popularity of streamlining big government — there was no more applause-winning issue on the campaign trail last year — may be tempered by resistance from the powerful constituencies of threatened agencies and protective congressional overseers.

Soundings on Capitol Hill suggest that lawmakers will give Mr. Carter the "indispensable tool" he seeks: the authority, granted all presidents from 1949 until revoked during the embattled Nixon presidency in 1973, to reorganize the executive branch unless a plan is vetoed by one house of Congress within 60 days.

Despite opposition from the chairman of the House of Representatives committee reviewing the Carter request, Rep. Jack Brooks (D) of Texas — who claims it "stands the Constitution on its head" — this proposal is co-sponsored by an outright majority of his panel (23 of 43 members), including six Republicans.

### Endorsement expected

In the House as a whole, it is endorsed by the leaders of both parties and commands what senior committee member Dante B. Fascell (D) of Florida calls "general support."

The Senate is expected to muster even less resistance. After sailing through committee hearings this month — with only token opposition from one member (Lee A. Metcalf (D) of Montana) — the bill is scheduled to be approved this week for action by the full Senate.

But trouble is forecast once the President begins to sharpen his reorganizational scissors. If he has been carefully watching Capitol Hill, Mr. Carter has just received an instructive, if painful, lesson on what often happens when part of the federal government tries to reorganize itself.

The Senate, prospective partner of the President in reorganizing the executive branch, boldly undertook to streamline its own overgrown committee system, slashing its committees from 31 to 13, its subcommittees from 174 to 100, and each senator's committee assignments from 18 to 8.

### Letters, telegrams

But an onslaught of telegrams, letters, and arm-twisting from lobbies such as war veterans, small businessmen, and senior citizens seeking to preserve "their" committees reduced the reorganization to little more than a reshuffling that modestly cuts committees from 31 to 25, subcommittees from 174 to 140, and assignments from 18 to 11.

When it comes to reorganizing the executive branch, these same pressures from constituencies are likely to be compounded by pressures from overseers in Congress who also fear the loss of governmental units to which they may have grown close.

The Senate Government Operations Committee (coincidentally, the panel in charge of reorganizations) warned last week after an 18-month study that Capitol Hill oversight committees are too often "stacked with members who share similar backgrounds and values with the agencies they are charged with overseeing."

With such built-in resistance, government reorganization — it has a 190-year history which started in 1787 when the Founding Fathers scrapped the Articles of Confederation for the Constitution — poses a formidable challenge to the new President.

Success has eluded most 20th-century predecessors who tackled serious overhaul — among them Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, Herbert Hoover, John F. Kennedy (four of whose 20 reorganization plans were rejected by Congress), and Richard M. Nixon (twice rebuffed on cutting the number of Cabinet departments and twice on realigning the energy bureaucracy).

## How to pipe money to poor nations

By Harry B. Ellis  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Will President Carter's concern for human rights conflict with another of the President's plans — to channel more U.S. aid through international lending agencies, like the World Bank?

Such agencies, including regional development banks for Asia and Latin America, funnel donor money to some governments which, by U.S. standards, violate human rights.

"Human rights," says a high U.S. Treasury official, "is front and center in the (Carter administration) approach to U.S. foreign policy," including American aid to developing lands.

And, adds C. Fred Bergsten, assistant Treasury secretary-designate for international affairs, "President Carter attaches very high importance to extending aid to poor countries."

We do not, says Mr. Bergsten, "want to use international organizations as tools of U.S. unilateral (human rights) policy."

From the standpoint of human rights, he says, the first task is to "develop a comprehensive policy approach, including multilateral and bilateral U.S. assistance, sales of arms, and so on."

"This process is just getting under way. It's hard to know what effect this will have on U.S. participation in international lending institutions."

Yet, says Mr. Bergsten, "flows of money through the established international institutions is essential."

Two such agencies, he notes — the Asian Development Bank and the Inter-American De-

velopment Bank — are "virtually out of money to make new commitments."

Without fresh capital before fiscal year 1978, these two banks "might have to cut back sharply on their work," says Mr. Bergsten. The United States is by far the largest donor to the Inter-American Bank and, together with Japan, a mainstay of the Asian Bank.

Because the United States is behind on its contributions to a major World Bank affiliate — the International Development Association (IDA) — Washington has some initial fence-mending to do with other IDA donors.

Now before Congress is a Carter administration request for appropriations of \$540 million to fulfill U.S. commitments to international banks — including an overdue payment of \$65 million to IDA.

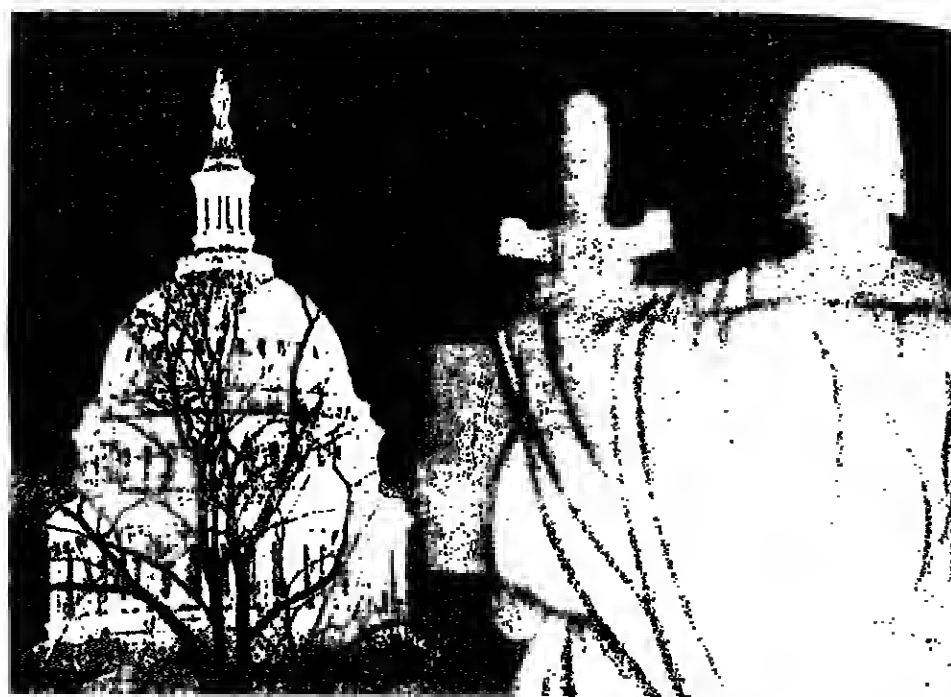
"Understandably," says Mr. Bergsten, because of U.S. late payments, "there is some concern around the world about the credibility of U.S. commitments."

To erase this doubt, White House officials hope to enlist congressional support before future aid commitments are made — not after, as often has been the case in the past.

Next step is a mid-March meeting in Vienna of donor nations to pledge the so-called "fifth replenishment" of IDA's funds. The World Bank, parent organization of IDA, originally proposed a three-year, \$9 billion extension of IDA's lending authority.

The Ford administration recommended cutting the traditional donors' role back to \$7.2 billion, with rich oil-exporting nations stepping in to provide the rest.

The U.S. pledge would be \$2.4 billion spread over three years — roughly one-third of the traditional donors' share.



Under the Capitol dome: anti-bureaucracy crusade gets off to slow start

## "In the news business, facts are a dime a dozen. What is important is the weight of the facts—the balance and perspective."

Joseph C. Hirsch  
Columnist  
The Christian Science Monitor

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# United States

## Important foreign policy changes expected

### U.S., Japan and Western European cooperation stressed

By Jeremiah Novak  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

A foreign policy paper which may foreshadow major revision of U.S. foreign policy has been prepared by men who subsequently became high officials in the Carter administration. In fact, members of the group who commissioned the paper include the President and Vice-President.

The paper, made available to the Monitor in draft form, was written under the auspices of the Trilateral Commission. "Trilateral" refers to the three allied Western industrial regions, North America, Japan, and Western Europe, and the Commission itself is an American study group made up of business, labor and government officials.

Two current Carter appointees had a hand in its drafting: Zbigniew Brzezinski, the President's National Security Adviser, and Richard

Cooper, now Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs.

It proposes the following steps toward a "renovated international system":

- A greater reliance on international institutions to deal with problems related to peace, economic interdependence, environmental issues, and the provision of basic human needs.

- The formation of joint policymaking institutions among the allied nations of Western Europe, Japan, and North America. These nations could then coordinate their activities on foreign policy and economic planning.

- The need for the allied industrial countries of Western Europe, Japan, and the United

States to act as a unit, rather than individually. The aim: to coordinate economic and political relations with the third world and the communist-bloc nations. Allied positions would be formulated on nuclear proliferation, environmental policy, and the restructuring of international institutions. The goal is Western unity on a broad range of issues beyond the existing military alliances.

- A more generous stance toward developing countries. The paper suggests increased economic aid, higher prices for resources from third world countries, and a drastic revision in tariff laws to allow the exports of poor nations greater access to U.S. markets and those of other industrial nations.

- A restructuring of international economic institutions through the reform of the International Monetary Fund by making the IMF a "federal reserve bank" for the world economy.

The trilateral commission came to national prominence last year when it became widely known that Jimmy Carter and Vice-President Walter F. Mondale were members of the group. Since the election, it gained added attention, when President Carter appointed 13 members of the commission to government jobs in the foreign policy sector. Cyrus R. Vance, the Secretary of State, Harold Brown, the Secretary of Defense, and W. Michael Blumenthal the Secretary of the Treasury are all members of the Trilateral Commission.

A select group of readers received the draft report last November. It underwent minor revisions in January at a commission meeting held in Tokyo, and is scheduled to be published next month. In all, 22 scholars contributed to discussions that in turn led to the draft.

Noting that "none of the problems at the heart of international concern in the first half of the 1970s has disappeared," the draft report emphasizes that in 1977 the major problem that has to be faced is the "management of interdependence" in a world of competing, sovereign nations that often pursue selfish national policies that directly affect the well being of others.

The report stresses the global nature of modern problems and the need for all nations to yield some of their sovereignty for the greater good of the whole planet.

The report asserts that the allied industrial nations of North America, Japan, and Western Europe (the Trilateral Nations) have a duty to take the lead in establishing new international institutions and in strengthening present ones. The allied industrial nations of the trilateral area, especially, have a role to play in "movement toward a more rational world economic order," it says.

One of the major areas of concern in the report is the need to strengthen the International Monetary Fund to give it the power to act as a "banker of last resort" to support national banks, especially in developing countries in times of financial difficulty.

Similarly, the report sees as a major goal the assistance of the third world nations to meet at least the basic human needs.

With reference to the third world, the report asserts that "development cannot be imported" and that the major burden of development falls on the poor nations. However, the rich nations have a role to play in helping poor nations.

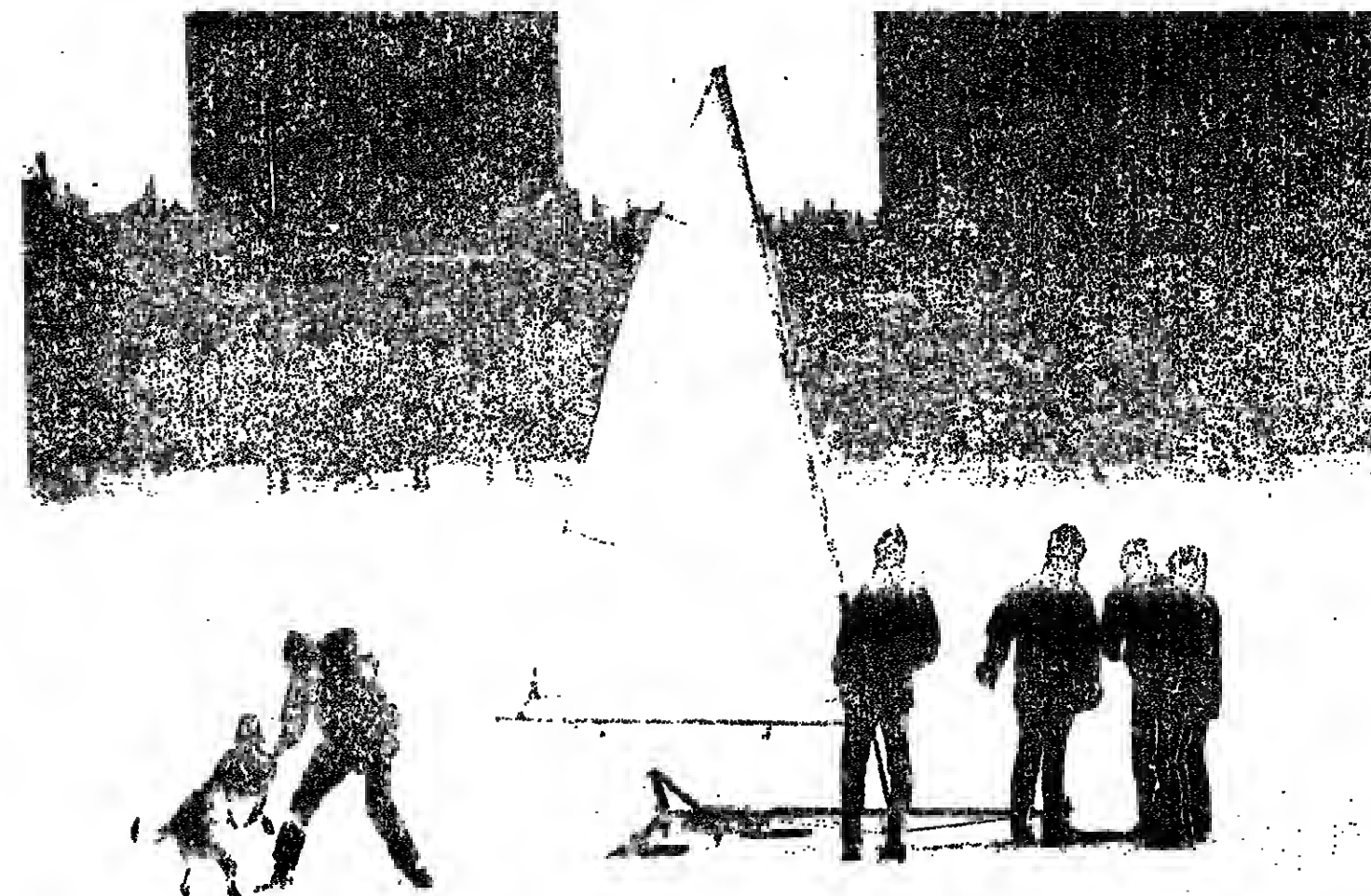
By stimulating their own economies the rich nations provide a market for exports from poor countries.

The report, calls for the group of 10 leading industrial nations to work out a plan for the renovation of the International Monetary Fund.

On nuclear proliferation, the report emphasizes the global risks that would result from failure of the allied industrial countries to agree on adequate controls and safeguards.

The report recommends that the rich nations help the poor nations acquire the capacity to process their raw materials like cotton, sugar and lumber. Such processing now is largely done in the rich nations. The transfer of these functions to the poor nations would result in more jobs where they are apparently needed most. Such a transfer of jobs could create problems for some American workers, and provisions should be made to help such workers, it says.

The report favors extension of tariff reductions for imports from third world nations.



Boston's Charles River

Happier side of a record cold winter: Ice selling

## 'I am pleased with his performance so far' Republicans find Carter hard to fault

By Geoffrey Sperling Jr.  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Republican leaders, at the state and federal levels, are saying that President Carter is defusing their efforts to mount even the beginning of an effective challenge to his administration.

Monitor interviews have pieced together a picture of Republican strategists who are, at the same time, both encouraged and dismayed by Mr. Carter's relative move to the right in his early days in office.

Says a Midwest state committeeman: "Carter is charting a course of moderation. He is showing caution in initiating spending programs. And the stimulus to the economy he is proposing is just what many Republicans think we should have."

Says an Easterner: "I talk to a lot of Republicans. And while most of them still have reservations about Jimmy Carter, they all seem to be pleasantly surprised by what they are seeing. He's making moves on the domestic front that are not very far away from what most moderate Republicans believe in."

What Mr. Carter has done, thus far, Republicans are saying, is to bring many of those Republicans in the middle and progressive areas of the party at least tentatively to his side.

Thus, at least for the moment he has driven a wedge into the party ranks — leaving only the most conservative and more hawkish elements, particularly those who supported Ronald Reagan, still quite openly unhappy over the Carter administration.

One U.S. Senator of a moderate persuasion says this of Mr. Carter: "Everything he's doing is just right — or, at least, almost everything is just right. I'm pleased with his performance thus far."

The picture of the new President, as viewed by Republicans, has these further dimensions:

- There is widespread support among these leaders for a long-range energy policy. Thus, they lend to back Mr. Carter in his proposal to move in the direction of energy independence for the U.S. — and they tend to like the fact that Mr. Carter has called upon the American people to sacrifice as a means of achieving this needed goal.

- The principal difference that many Re-

publicans have with Mr. Carter lies in his conducting of foreign policy.

Many question his public disclosure (in his recent press conference) of the bargaining positions he is likely to take in his negotiations with the Soviets over arms control.

Many also question his selection of Paul Warnke as arms negotiator — seeing in this choice a signal to the Soviets that the U.S. might be soft in its bargaining on this vital issue of arms limitations.

By and large, there is what might be called a relative contentment among Republicans — and, importantly, among businessmen — with the top-level choices Mr. Carter has made in his administration.

A number of Republicans echo the comment of a Washington political observer who puts it this way:

"Mr. Carter has put members of friends of the establishment in the key positions — in the leadership roles in the economy, defense, and foreign affairs."

Thus, through these appointments, Mr. Carter has eased the anxiety of establishment people everywhere.







# Should biologists redesign organic life?

Biologists have learned to manipulate the genetic blueprints that underlie earthly life.

How fast, under what safeguards, to what ends will they exercise this new power?

The issue is not whether this will proceed, but whether it will proceed with informed public oversight.

By Robert C. Cowen

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Robert Sinsheimer, chairman of the biology department at the California Institute of Technology, shook his head. "I hadn't anticipated anyone would do it," he said.

He was referring to experiments in which genetic material from two different kinds of organisms is put together at random. This is made possible by revolutionary techniques that enable biologists to manipulate directly the genetic information that underlies life.

As a research tool, these techniques may be the most important, single advance for biologists since the microscope. With it, they can isolate the genetic blueprints of individual organisms. They can translate these blueprints into specific proteins, dissect, recombine, and rewrite them. And they can combine parts of the blueprints of different organisms to produce new, unnatural specifications.

With such an awesome ability to interfere with the course of evolution, Dr. Sinsheimer says he and his colleagues proceed with caution. But the caution is not the kind of limited knowledge to light our way. The alternative, he added, is to delay indefinitely the benefits of knowledge that will flow from this research.

To understand what excites the biologists, you have to know a little about the material they're working with — the genetic molecule. They call it DNA (for deoxyribonucleic acid). It looks like a long, twisted ladder. Its sides are made of sugar, its rungs of four different varieties of the type of chemical known as a base. Just as the dots and dashes of Morse code encode information that can be read by a telegraph, so do the sequences of these four bases encode information that can be read by the chemical machinery of living cells. This is the genetic information that, according to current genetic theory, underlies the development, form, and function of all organisms, from bacteria to humans, and is passed on from generation to generation.

A few years ago, they recognize that careless use of genetic rewrite power could produce test tube monsters, microbes that might be dangerous. They held back. Safety guidelines were worked out. Last year, the National Institutes of Health (NIH) issued those guidelines. The biologists want to get on with their work.

Nevertheless, pursuit of this research promises to bring biologists and the general public into the most far-reaching confrontation they have had since the 19th-century debates over Darwin's theory of evolution, as the following straws suggest:

Friends of the Earth are preparing to make this research a major national issue. The British-U.S. ecological commission emphasizes both the potential environmental hazards and the potential for creating dangerous organisms and the uncertainties of interfering with evolutionary processes raised by the research.

Local and state governments are beginning to express concern. Last year, New York State's Attorney General held hearings on the safety of this research. California is holding legislative hearings this year. And in a significant development, Cambridge, Massachusetts, in a presidential move, has clamped control on all such research carried on at Harvard University, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, or elsewhere in the city.

If, as now is expected, bills are submitted to House and Senate calling for federal regulation of the research, the issue, from safety to long-range wisdom, will probably receive a major public airing.

Meanwhile, the biologists themselves appear more concerned with avoiding delay in their research than with public opinion. As Maxine Singer of NIH, one of the main dissenters of the safety guidelines, explained at a congressional hearing in December: to biologists, the hazards of this work seem "speculative and unproven." The researchers, she said, have shown "good sense and openness." The only reason not to proceed with prudence and caution using the limited knowledge to light our way, she added, is to delay indefinitely the benefits of knowledge that will flow from this research.

To understand what excites the biologists, you have to know a little about the material they're working with — the genetic molecule. They call it DNA (for deoxyribonucleic acid). It looks like a long, twisted ladder. Its sides are made of sugar, its rungs of four different varieties of the type of chemical known as a base. Just as the dots and dashes of Morse code encode information that can be read by a telegraph, so do the sequences of these four bases encode information that can be read by the chemical machinery of living cells. This is the genetic information that, according to current genetic theory, underlies the development, form, and function of all organisms, from bacteria to humans, and is passed on from generation to generation.

What a gene is. Most of this information determines which proteins a cell makes and when it makes them. Any specific sequence of bases that encodes the information for one specific protein is called a gene. The blueprint of a simple bacterium may have a thousand genes, while the gene content of a human DNA runs into the millions.

For three decades of research, biologists know the alphabet of the genetic code. They know something about the structure and variety of a few dozen sentences, and can even read simple sentences. But they don't know the rules of the game. Until recently, they had no systematic way of knowing the relationships of the millions of significant differences of the DNA blueprints in higher cells and organisms. The last five years have swept away this limitation.

Biologists have found chemical scissors (they call them restriction enzymes) which cut DNA molecules at specific points. The snipped-out fragments can be welded together to form new DNA molecules, new genetic blueprints, and inserted into laboratory-bred bacteria, where they are copied and handed down to each new generation.

## Viruses often used

As these organisms multiply, doubling say every 20 minutes, so, too, does the DNA increase. In this way, genes wanted for study can be produced in large quantity. Thousands of billions of identical copies of such genes can be produced for detailed chemical and biological studies, something impossible with older genetic techniques. This is the process, as biologists relate it:

Sometimes researchers use microscopic organisms called viruses to carry genes into bacteria. A virus is a tiny life form, consisting largely of DNA, that can insert its DNA into a living cell. That viral DNA then commandeers the cell's chemical machinery for its own purposes. Using their chemical scissors, genetic engineers snip away parts of a virus's DNA and substitute bits of foreign DNA they want to study. The virus then carries this into laboratory-bacterial cells, where the foreign DNA produces its characteristic proteins and is itself multiplied as the bacteria reproduce.

Another way to get foreign DNA into a bacterium, is to use something called a plasmid. This is a circular piece of DNA, found naturally in bacteria, that can penetrate bacteria from the outside. Again, genetic engineers use their chemical scissors to snip out a bit of the circle which they then replace with the material they want to study.

At a stroke, these techniques of "recombinant DNA," as they are called, have removed the biologists' old frustration at not being able to manipulate genetic blueprints directly. This has raised visions of getting at diseases biologists think have a genetic base. It has created hopes of tailoring gene-slimmed bacteria to produce such commercially valuable chemicals as insulin cheaply and in large quantities. It has also inspired visions of redesigning food crops to make their own fertilizer and be more productive.

In short, to quote the recent report of the Princeton University Biohazards Subcommittee: "This discovery has generated enormous intellectual excitement among molecular biologists. . . . [It] will have at least as profound an influence on the life sciences as has the discovery of the basic structure and function of DNA."

## Two-edged sword recognized

But just as biologists were eagerly seizing this marvelous new research tool, they realized they were grasping a two-edged sword. If do-it-yourself genetics could create interesting new forms of DNA, it could also create monsters, microbes never before known on Earth that might pose dangers for plants, animals, or people.

Thus, in 1974, biologists imposed their voluntary moratorium, which ended with release of the NIH guidelines last year. These guidelines rely on a combination of good housekeeping, physical containment, and a form of biological birth control to keep potentially dangerous organisms isolated in the laboratory.

Physical requirements run on an increasingly strict scale from P1 to P4 ("P" for precautionary). P1 and P2 are more or less normal facilities for microbiologic research. P3 and P4 are much tighter facilities with filtered air and water, negative air pressure to prevent drafts leaking outside, and other such measures. At their strictest, these requirements equal those of biological warfare laboratories, or of the lunar receiving laboratory at Houston, which was built to contain any alien organisms Apollo astronauts might have brought back.

"Biological containment," runs on a scale from B1 to B4. Those refer to "increasingly sophisticated forms of bacteria, used as experimental hosts, which are supposedly not able to survive outside the laboratory."

## Biologists accept guidelines

A complex set of rules specifies which types of experiments require what combinations of physical and biological containment. Some experiments judged especially dangerous are banned altogether. These include such things as increasing the virulence of known pathogens or making microbes more resistant to antibiotics.

Most biologists seem satisfied with the guidelines. To judge from a survey of biologist members of the Feder-

ation of American Scientists. The results showed 84 percent thought the guidelines were about right, 23 percent thought they could be more strict, and 10 percent considered them too confining. Nevertheless, the guidelines continue to draw criticism.

For one thing, they aren't universal. While NIH supports most academic research in biology — and while the Department of Defense, Energy Research and Development Administration, and National Science Foundation have adopted them — the guidelines do not cover industry or laboratories with independent funding and do not have the force of law. There is growing pressure for Congress to write the guidelines into a universally applicable law.

Secondly, a few critics, of which Dr. Sinsheimer is the leading example, point out that the guidelines are narrowly concerned with safety. They say nothing about the broader implications of this research. Dr. Sinsheimer made this point at the seminar at which Dr. Singer spoke, a session sponsored by the congressional Environmental Study Conference and the Scientists' Institute for Public Information.

"The NIH guidelines," he explained, "don't deal with gene transfer across species barriers in general. Consider what's involved: an insect DNA cut into thousands of pieces, any or all of which are inserted into bacteria and multiplied. It is assumed there is no danger. I don't know there is no danger, and as far as I know neither does anyone else."

## We lack the knowledge

"The guidelines," he continued, "reflect a static view of nature as wholly under our control and of our own evolutionary role as secure. Is it that secure? I'm concerned about irreversible processes. We lack the knowledge, both of the scientific and the social impacts of this work, to be confident that this new knowledge will not lead to disastrous consequences."

A third criticism is that the guidelines allow researchers to use a type of bacteria called E. coli (Escherichia coli) commonly found in the human intestine. Right now, there is no alternative. E. coli is the traditional laboratory bacterium. As Dr. Singer explained, E. coli's habits are thoroughly known. It could take years to develop an alternative organism, if indeed one could be found. Nevertheless, guideline critics, including the Environmental Protection Agency, would like to see a vigorous research program to develop an alternative organism that is not so intimately associated with human beings.

## Public excluded

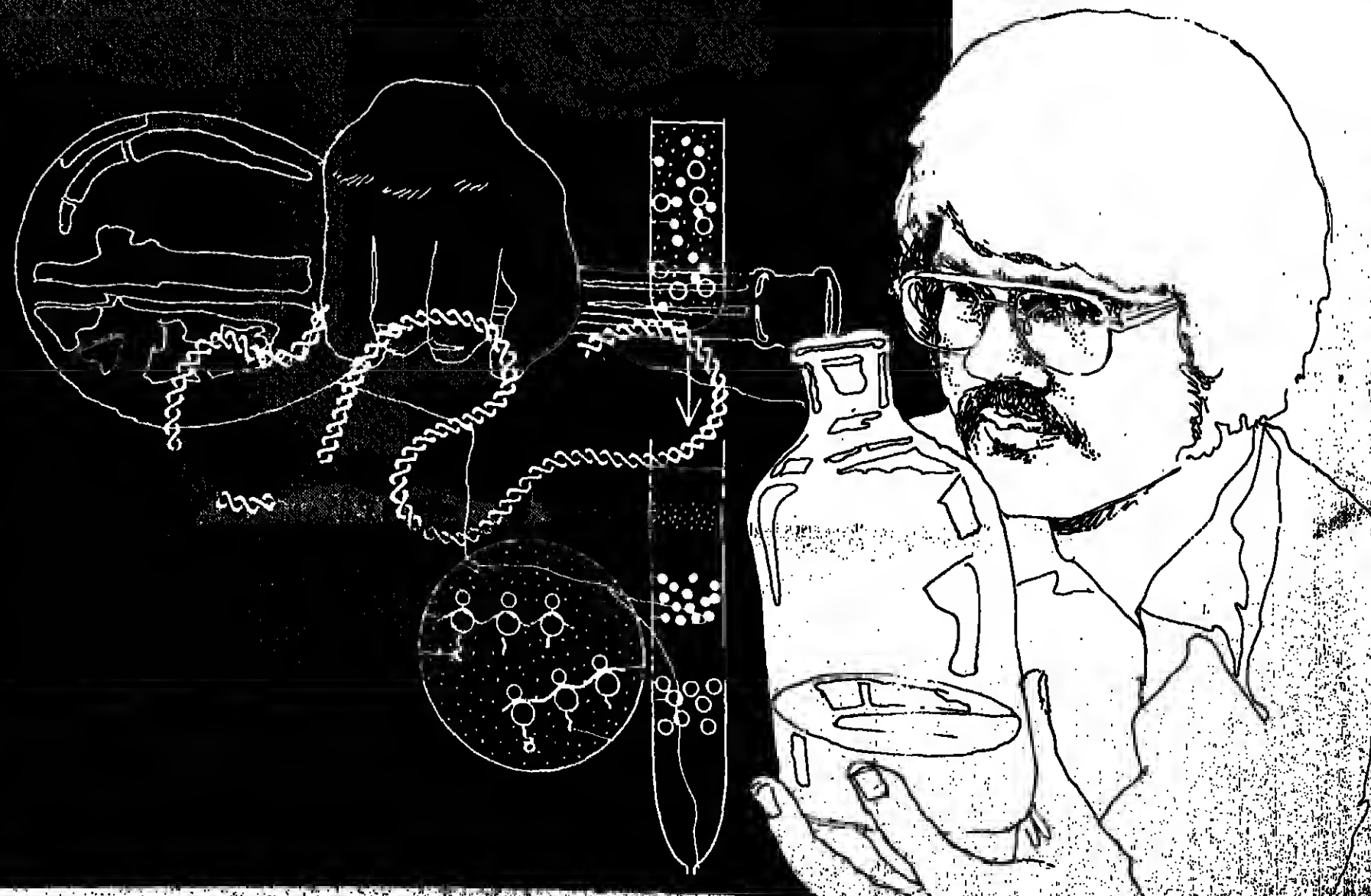
The final criticism of the guidelines may be the most significant. They were drawn up by biologists for biologists with little input from the public. This is the point that citizens groups such as Friends of the Earth or the Scientists' Institute for Public Information seize most strongly. This is the issue that was put to the test in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

After stormy public hearings by the city council, a citizens committee that did not include one DNA biologist studied the matter thoroughly. Last month, it issued its report recommending that recombinant DNA research be allowed in Cambridge. This was to be done under the NIH guidelines with certain stricter provisions attached. The most significant of these added provisions would be establishment of a permanent citizen watchdog committee to oversee all such research in the city. Now enacted into law, it will set a precedent for grass-roots participation in direction of this research that could have wide repercussions.

There is no longer any issue as to whether or not the biologists will go ahead. Somewhere between 100 to 200 laboratories in the United States or overseas already have this research in progress, according to Dr. Singer. The issue now is where, how fast, and in what directions this work should proceed — and in what ways the public should be made with the advice and informed consent of the public.

It will be a long and continuing dialogue between experts and laymen. As the Princeton University Biohazards Subcommittee noted with prophetic vision:

"On a larger time scale of, say, 50 years, work on recombinant DNA will likely lead to a world as different as today's world is from that of 50 years ago. Many areas of our present energy-intensive technology could give way to the sort of intricate enzymatic (chemical) machinery used by living things. . . . It may be that the most significant practical consequences of this research have not yet been thought of."





# financial

## Be a spender — strange but logical advice

By David R. Frons

Boston

The world economy is in an odd situation. Except for a few oil-rich nations, all countries should be living beyond their means. They should be racking up debts in a grand manner. This is not because extravagance is normally a national virtue. Rather, it is a necessity because the world has not yet adjusted fully to the huge petroleum price boosts imposed by the members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).

### Commentary

The oil-importing countries are not yet able to pay their oil bills. Thus they must pile up their debts while the OPEC countries continue to build up their foreign assets.

Morgan Guaranty Bank, in its latest issue of World Financial Markets, reckons that the OPEC nations' international payments surplus was cut in half in 1975 from the initial \$46 billion surplus of 1974. This was achieved because the OPEC nations rapidly increased their imports and the oil-importing countries restrained their petroleum demand, through re-

cession, warm weather, and energy conservation measures.

Last year, Morgan Guaranty estimates, the OPEC surplus rose somewhat to an estimated \$39 billion. This was because some OPEC countries, running short on funds, slowed the rise in their imports. Others had trouble expanding their imports because of labor shortages, or bottlenecks in harbors or other transportation facilities. Also, oil-importing nations were building up their petroleum inventories in anticipation of a price hike.

Morgan Guaranty forecasts that the OPEC surplus will resume its downtrend this year.

Assuming that imports to OPEC nations increase 10 percent per year and that petroleum prices rise no faster than the price of those imports, Morgan Guaranty calculates that OPEC's overall surplus could decline from an estimated \$32 billion this year to less than \$20 billion by 1980. This surplus will be concentrated almost entirely in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates.

That will be progress. But it is still a surplus that will have its counterpart in the deficits of the oil-importing countries.

The difficulty now is that these deficits must

be shared among the non-OPEC nations. This goes against the conservative grain of some major nations, who see balance-of-payments deficits as something to be avoided. They don't want to be debtor nations.

That is why Vice-President Walter Mondale, during his whirlwind tour of industrial nations, urged Japan and West Germany to run up higher current account deficits. In effect, he said, loosen up your pocketbooks. Be big spenders.

More often the United States is urging other countries to restrain their spending. It had that advice for Britain last fall, for instance.

But the fact is that current account surpluses are persisting in Germany, Japan, the Netherlands, and Switzerland. Morgan Guaranty estimates these four nations will be in the black by nearly \$8 billion this year.

If they were sharing the debts properly, they would be in the red by \$3.5 billion the bank figures.

(A nation's current account measures trade in merchandise and services, certain private remittances, and economic aid. It is part of the total balance of payments accounts which also include capital transactions.)

The United States is sharing the debt burden

fully. It is expected to run a \$4 billion current account deficit this year.

As of now, the world producing, less developed countries, in effect, are absorbing all the debts that counterbalance the OPEC surplus. Their collective deficit was an estimated \$10 billion last year, down from a high of \$24 billion in 1975.

If the industrial countries with surpluses would step on the gas somewhat economically they would import more raw materials and other products from the poorer countries. They would then share the debt burden.

"Think of the world economy as a unit," the undersecretary of State-designate Richard A. Cooper urged last week after his return from the Mondale trip.

Japan and West Germany, said Mr. Cooper, have "a small-country psychology." They have to develop a "big-country psychology" in which they take some responsibility for the total environment, including running up international debts.

It sounds strange. But it is excellent logic.

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## World Bank to lend Albania \$56 million

By Eric Bourne

Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Belgrade

Yugoslavia's biggest and poorest minority — nearly one million Albanians in Kosovo province in south Serbia — stand to benefit from a new \$56 million development loan from the World Bank.

The loan will be applied to a drainage and irrigation project affecting 50,000 acres of mainly private farmlands in Kosovo. It will speed agricultural modernization, give an immense boost to production, and ensure drinking water supplies for the first time to many new small urban communities.

Kosovo was one of the most neglected areas in the pre-war Yugoslav kingdom and in southeast Europe generally. Today things are much better. But it still lags behind the rest of Yugoslavia, and it is politically sensitive about its position.

Albanians in Kosovo outnumber Serbs — whose forebears ran the mineral-rich province as a "colony" from Belgrade — by more than

four to one. Now the province has its own constitution and home rule.

In the last decade federal investments built factories, roads, schools, and a university. The area received one-third of Yugoslavia's whole aid program for its backward areas.

Aid, however, has not yet caught up with population growth, which is still more than three times the Yugoslav average. Per capita income is only one-third of the national average, and per capita output only about \$500 annually (one-quarter of the national average).

This continued economic inferiority and its attendant political sensitivity worry Belgrade.

The problem is aggravated by the "concern" often professed by neighboring Albania, whose Stalinist-inclined leadership shows no interest in more than cool, minimal contacts or trade exchanges with Yugoslavia.

In this dual economic-political context the World Bank loan is of particular importance; the Yugoslavs have given Kosovo top priority

in the 1975-1980 plan, and this loan is tied to that priority. It will finance half the cost of the drainage-irrigation project; Belgrade will pay the rest.

Individual beneficiaries will be the 35,000 people, mostly Albanians, farming an area at present yielding an annual 80,000 tons of fruit and vegetables. The crop estimate for 1981 is a half-million tons, including new cereal production, and a doubled output of livestock providing 18,000 tons of meat for town markets each year.

It is the World Bank's second large loan for Yugoslav agricultural improvement within a year. Previously it had granted \$50 million toward a nationwide "green plan" to bolster cattle-breeding and other programs and to establish new farm centers in both the state and private sectors.

This time, there is an accompanying loan, also of \$50 million, to help build roads in other underdeveloped areas.

## Europe: will it be faster by train?

By Philip W. Whitcomb

Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Paris

A special French rail line for trains traveling at 160 m.p.h. and a German air-cushioned train at 312 m.p.h. (if only a safe way can be found to stop it) are indicative of the flight being waged between Europe's railroads and airlines for the continent's middle-distance passenger traffic in the 1980s.

Indeed, the new Paris-Lyon line well illustrates the advantages and disadvantages of the railways in their fight with the plane.

The line will carry its first 17 million passengers in 1982, cutting the present distance of 320 miles in 205, and the time, city center to city center, from 3 hours 27 minutes to 2 hours. It will travel at 160 m.p.h. The new French TGV (trains of very great speed) capable of up to

200 m.p.h., will be limited in a maximum 165 but will average 132 m.p.h. start to stop.

The railways begin with the basic advantage of city-center stations that eliminating the often long fringe journeys and early arrival requirements of the planes. However, they have suffered from the fact that the investors had always ordered their engineers to touch the maximum possible number of cities en route. The resultant zigzagging, and in many cases a policy of taking the easiest, even if the longest, line, made journey times unnecessarily long.

But some short cuts, new fast trains such as the French turbolines and their TGV, and new quiet passenger cars, combined with the fact that trains are seldom hampered by weather, and with the preference most travelers have for being able to move about freely en route, give the ambitious railways of the continent — even though all are nationalized — the feeling that they can beat the airlines on all short- and middle-distance passenger traffic.

Passenger-miles on the French main lines rose to 27.5 billion in 1976, a startling increase of 62.8 percent since 1960. The German gain for the same years was 4.3 percent. Like the United States, Britain showed a heavy drop — 19.3 percent in the 16 years. Nor did the use of the automobile, bus or underground railways prevent the French suburban rail traffic from increasing at about the same rate, rising by 67 percent to 6 billion passenger miles.

No decision on fares for the new Paris-Lyon line has been announced. But because rates are very strictly controlled by the government as part of its inflation program, it is unlikely that the French will initiate the famous Shinkansen run on the 320 miles from Tokyo to Osaka, where the train costs a little more than the plane.



By Joan Forbes, staff cartographer

### Foreign exchange cross-rates

By reading across the table of last Tuesday's mid-day inter-bank foreign exchange rates, one can find the value of the major currencies in the national currencies of each of the following financial centers. These rates do not take into account bank service charges. (c) — commercial rate.

	U.S. Dollar	British Pound	French Franc	German Mark	Dutch Guilder	Belgian Franc	Swiss Franc
New York	1.0000	1.6992	4.7726	2.4836	3.7603	33.3333	2.0048
London	58.5	1.0000	2.4836	1.4836	2.2500	19.3636	1.2500
Frankfurt	23.69	4.0729	1.0000	0.6557	0.9375	8.0000	0.5000
Paris	4.9751	8.4527	2.0756	1.0000	1.4836	12.4836	0.7500
Amsterdam	25.006	4.2491	1.0433	0.676	1.0000	8.0000	0.5000
Brussels	35.7175	62.3903	15.3185	7.3802	14.633	124.633	7.5000
Zurich	25.069	4.2597	1.0459	0.676	1.0000	8.0000	0.5000

The following are U.S. dollar values only: Argentine peso: 0.054; Australian dollar: 1.0920; Danish krone: 1.966; Italian lire: 200/134; Japanese yen: 0.00357; New Zealand dollar: 0.650; South African rand: 1.1600.

Source: First National Bank of Boston, Boston

# home

## How to make a happy cook — grow better beetroot

By Peter Tonge

Weymouth, Massachusetts

It took me a good many seasons to really appreciate the beet for what it is — a three-in-one type of vegetable, a genuine "must" for even the smallest of plots. Limit me to a window box and I would still sneak in a beet or two somewhere.

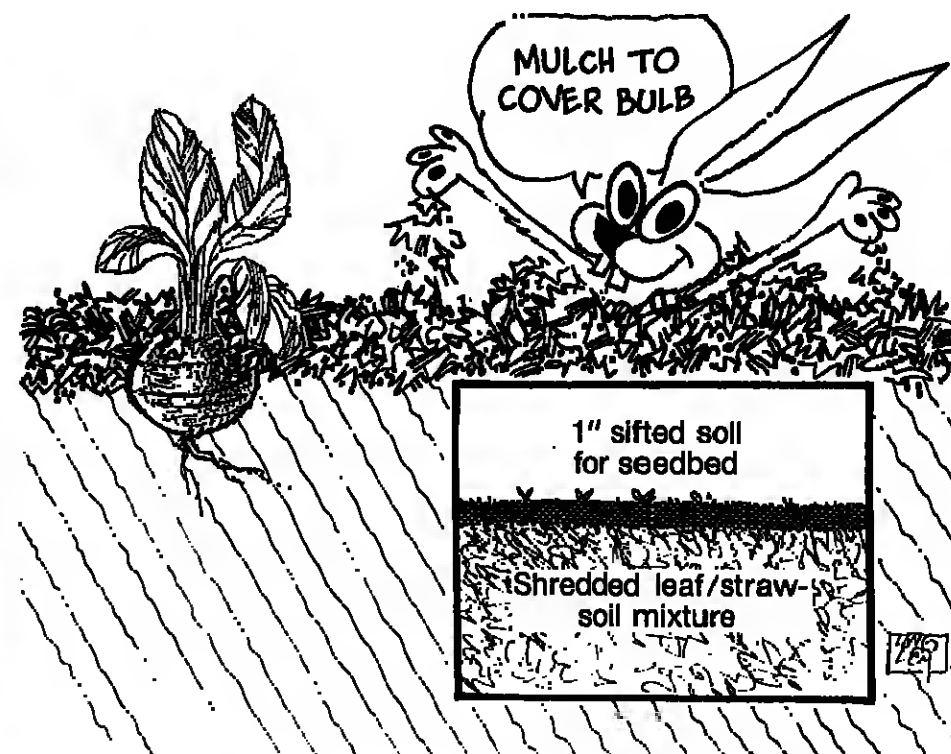
Served hot, the beet is a rich red taste treat adding a touch of sweetness to the meal that is matched only by sweet potato, corn, and English peas at their best. Served cold, it adds a new dimension to a tossed salad and makes a delectable pickle when marinated for a few hours in vinegar. If that is not enough, its leaves can be served as a green — the perfect substitute for Swiss chard or spinach. Can anyone ask more of a vegetable?

It is relatively simple to grow, too. Frost tolerant, it is one of the first vegetables to be sown in spring (mine go in along with carrots and cabbage) and one of the last to come out in fall. It thrives best in good rich loam but will grow moderately well in most soils.

### Soil preparation

Mix shredded leaves, compost, or old manure, and a little wood ash or lime into the top few inches of soil and top this off with an inch-thick layer of finely sifted soil to provide a smooth seed bed. I scatter the seed a few inches apart over a broad row and press them into the soil by walking over them on a plank. Then I cover the bed with a one-quarter to one-half inch layer of sifted compost.

Each beet seed is actually a fruit containing several minuscule seeds. So it is not uncommon for one "fruit" to germinate into as many as six beet seedlings. Thinning is a necessity. When the plants are 4 to 6 inches tall, thin to an inch or so



apart and use the thinnings as beet greens. At this stage the tender young leaves make a particularly delicious dish. Thin again when the roots are about the size of a radish (bowl the beets, steam the tops, and combine the two for a gourmet vegetable dish). Continue the thinning process until the plants are about 4 to 6 inches apart. In other words, harvesting from the beet bed is an almost continuous process.

For a succession, sow every two weeks from early spring to early summer in the North. A late-summer sowing can produce a good crop of medium sized beets for a fall harvest.

**Cold-weather vegetable**  
Beets grow best in cool weather and should never go short of water. Mulch heavily after the second thinning to keep soil cool and moist. At this stage sprinkle more woodash lightly over the plants to

supply additional potash and water it in. Do not apply the ash too thickly or it will burn the leaves.

Most beet varieties mature about 80 days after germination. There is also a large slow-growing beet, often called a winter keeper, which is worthy of attention. Planted in the late spring, it matures by fall into rough-shaped bulbs 4 to 6 inches across. It is often grown for winter storage and is particularly sweet because one of its parents is the sugar beet.

The only pest that bothers my beets is a leaf miner that tunnels its way between the outer membranes of the leaf. It nips the leaf, in other words. Check regularly and squeeze the affected part of the leaf between thumb and forefinger to crush the burrowing grub.

### In brief

**Soil:** Light growing medium allows large bulbs to develop. Dig in compost and organic matter. Avoid fresh manure. Top soil bed with an inch of sifted soil.

**Planting:** Sow in broad rows about the same time as you plant carrots and cabbage. Cover seeds with one-quarter to one-half inch of sifted compost or soil.

**Culture:** Keep soil moist with regular waterings during dry weather. Mulching after the second thinning will keep down weeds and retain soil moisture. Thin regularly from the moment beet plants are large enough to eat as greens. Continue thinning regularly until remaining beets are 4 to 6 inches apart.

**Harvesting:** With beets this is a continuous process. Pull for use as greens only when beets are a few inches tall; thereafter, harvest for both beets and greens. Though not as hardy as carrots, beets can be stored in the ground for several months under a thick insulating blanket of leaves or straw.

## Job for tomorrow's computer: a robot to fit you with new shoes

By Andreas and Annette de Rhoda

Special to

The Christian Science Monitor

Some day, not far off, if one top expert is right, you will be able to design and custom-tailor your own pair of shoes, your own clothing, and even your own daily news service.

The key to all this, of course, will be the computer, or, rather, a robot-like contraption controlled by a computer. So, at any rate, says Prof. Michael L. Dertouzos, a leading robot specialist and director of the Laboratory for Computer Science at Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

"The computer may permit us consumers to have our cake and eat it, too," says Dr. Dertouzos. "I see a reversal in the trend toward homogeneity which the industrial revolution has placed on us. No longer need we eat from the same kind of plates, sit on the same kind of chairs, dress in the same clothes, or even read the same selection of news."

"We'll be able to tailor everything — without losing the low-cost benefits machine production has brought us."

"Say you walk into the individualized shoe factory of tomorrow, most likely an elegant salesroom or studio: You sit down, strap your foot into a kind of box until you feel just the right tension and fit. The machine automatically measures your foot, more exactly than it could ever be measured now, and out pops a pair with your measurements."

"You insert that card, along with your credit card, in a style-selector. That machine displays to you a range of choices, many times larger than you'd find anywhere today. This is because the shoes can be stored in the form of a few materials rather than as finished products."

"Now you pick the style you like. Instantly the selector displays to you, on a color screen, exactly how that shoe would look on your foot. Now you can start making special adjustments

like adding a button or an ornament. You might even consult with the store's shoe designer."

"When you've made your final decision, you push a button: In an adjacent room, a complex assembly machine, programmed with the information you've been feeding it, goes to work. It does the whole process, picking the sheets of leather or plastic from the shelves, cutting them, sewing them, gluing them. It shouldn't take longer than six to ten minutes."

How close is such technology to reality? "All the components we need are here today, at least in basic form, with just one exception: the programmable assembler that has the visual information input it needs for certain operations and for inspecting its work."

Once the programmable assembler robot is developed, the same custom-tailoring can be done in clothing, according to Dr. Dertouzos.

"You'll design any dress or suit you want in the style, the size, the color, and the material you want. It would fit so perfectly the one problem you'll have left is watching your waistline," the professor explains.

Many other consumer products, from tableware to full-sized houses, will be capable of being custom-designed and built with a technology, Dr. Dertouzos adds.

Consumer choices could be individualized indirectly by what he calls "reversible advertising."

"Within two years or less, you'll be able to buy a remarkably powerful home computer for the price you now pay for a TV set," he predicts. "It will be used for many different purposes, including control of your appliances for optimal energy use, for education, and for entertainment. One of its most valuable functions will be to tie you into a network of product information."

"Suppose you're looking for a pair of feet long with certain special characteristics. In the price range between \$2,000 and \$3,000, you

simply type this information into your terminal and ask: 'What have you got?'

"You will get an answer from the huge electronic catalog, containing not only one manufacturer but of all those that are interested in your request. You'd be getting a boat much closer to what you really want. Also, consumers would have greater and more immediate influence on product policy."

Another form of individualizing consumer choices is already technologically feasible: the individualized news service received at home.

"Suppose you are, like myself, interested in things Greek," the professor said. (Dr. Dertouzos, a native of Athens, still visits there each summer to see his parents.)

"All you have to do is tell the machine you want to see everything the wire services — AP,

UPI, Reuters, Agence France-Presse — carry that has to do with Greece. You are hooked into these services. As the news comes over the wire, your terminal picks out everything related to Greece. When you wait it, you push a button and your terminal, out of its memory storage, delivers your personalized daily news service."

"News filtering" as he calls it, is one way in which Dr. Dertouzos believes society must try to select and channel the "flood of raw and unstructured information" that has built up over the past decades and whose volume keeps growing. "We're being bombarded with information and we feel the need for something to help us digest it and to serve our interests and needs more specifically. The range of individualization of consumer selection is enormous."

## Germany's new drink: liquid fruit

By Margaret Thoren

Special to

The Christian Science Monitor

In an antique German recipe book there is a charming illustration showing three cherubim busily at work pressing succulent black currants into a ruby juice, a nectar, in some

element some German ambrosia, no doubt. It is a romantic scene, and a far cry from the ultramodern methods used in the German fruit drink industry today, except that the raw products must be, to my mind, every bit as good.

Amber applesalt, the standard German apple juice; rhubarb, a yellow pear juice; and cranberry, a sharp, crystal-clear juice pressed from Bavarian muscatel grapes, are some of the juices recommended by the German Fruit Juice Advisory Service.

If juice sounds too ordinary, let's call it as

the Germans do: "liquid fruit." Anyone like me, who is bored with the lack of variety when ordering a nonalcoholic drink will find these liquid fruits a delight. And it's a pleasant surprise to read the label and find they are absolutely pure.

According to German law, preservatives and coloring are strictly "verboten." Some fruits, however, especially berry types, need a boost to their sweetness, so a singular solution additive is permitted; but that is all.

Part of the beauty of these products, especially those distributed in Britain by Lalaure Drinks, is the packaging. Most wood-cut labels set off the green glass bottles, which have a wide-collared look about them but allow no doubt about seeming to be what they are: "free from alcohol" is marked prominently on each one.











# environment



Harp seal pup: next winter's fur coat?

AP photo

## Success story: the oryx returns

By John K. Cooley  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Doha, Qatar  
If you haven't seen an oryx lately, this Arabian oil state is a good place to see one, as it used to be before the gasoline engine.

By the 1950s, though, almost no one living, even in Arabia, could remember seeing the graceful, straight-horned Arabian oryx; a fleet-footed antelope with black and chocolate colored markings.

Although he ran with the speed of the desert wind, men in jeeps, land rovers, and even helicopters, armed with rapid-firing automatic weapons, had all but wiped him out.

Today in Qatar, a desert finger of Arabia reaching out into the turquoise waters of the Persian Gulf, the oryx, which early Arabian explorers thought might be the mythical unicorn, has found a home — thanks to people who care about Arabia's animals.

Two such people are Neil and Cynthia Bratton, a couple of British expatriates who took refuge in Qatar from the civil war in Lebanon, where they used to teach. While Neil works at the Qatar Education Ministry, planning a revolutionary new method for teaching English in the Arab world, Cynthia Bratton works as a veterinarian.

"Come and see our latest baby," suggested Cynthia. Since the three Bratton children were all attending school in Doha, a visitor might have concluded that they were keeping a baby oryx in their villa garden.

Instead, this baby turned out to be a 10-day-old Arabian mare colt which had lost her mother. As Cynthia fed the colt with a bottle, she told the story of how one member of Qatar's ruling family, the al-Thani, saved the last oryx from extinction and fed others to care.

Sheikh Jassim bin Hamad al-Thani, who is the brother of the Qatar ruler, Sheikh Khalifa,

and who passed on last July, is the hero of the tale.

Sheikh Jassim used to go on long desert expeditions. In the 1950s he was shocked and saddened by the slaughter of oryx and other animals which once roamed the desert wastes from Jordan south to the torrid Hadramaut coast of southern Arabia.

One expedition of the Fauna Preservation Society managed to capture two oryx bucks and one oryx doe. The society's capture team discovered where the unicorn myth might have come from: the two straight horns of the oryx look like one when seen in profile. The three captured oryx were sent to Arizona, where the result today is a herd of about 40 Arabian oryx in the Phoenix Park Zoo.

Sheikh Jassim, resolving to revive the animals in their home deserts, managed to capture three more in the red sand dunes of the Rub al-Khali or Empty Quarter, the great desert on the southern edge of Saudi Arabia. With these he started an oryx farm at Zubara, north of Doha. Here they thrived. Next, Sheikh Jassim and a few friends rescued a few of the extremely rare Arabian sand cat, a feline not unlike some of the wildcats of the American West. Now Qatar's new zoo, south of Doha, is nearly finished and a few sand cats may be among its charter members.

The last desert animal Sheikh Jassim rescued, now a pet in some Doha homes, was the raiet, or honey badger. Ralph Izzard, for years the Reuters correspondent in Bahrain, recalls how one he kept at home before sending it to the London Zoo "proved a most charming companion, completely tame, and with an endearing habit of turning somersaults before meal times."

Cynthia's Arabian colt finished her bottle. The desert night fell quickly over Qatar. Somewhere north of Doha, between the sea and the oil derricks, Sheikh Jassim's oryx were settling in for the night, perhaps musing on the strange ways of human beings.



Oryx: once thought to be the mythical unicorn

By Leila Brown

## Canadians set to slaughter thousands of baby seals

### Swiss couple mount rescue campaign

By David Anable  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

New York

The coming of March brings spring gales ruffling the icy Atlantic waters off the Newfoundland coast ... and with them come the hunters.

March 15 is the day set this year by the Canadian Government for the opening of the baby seal hunting season.

Within a few weeks, 170,000 white and furry baby harp seals will have been destroyed to provide decorative trimmings for coats and cloths worn by human beings.

Unless, that is, a soft-spoken Swiss gentleman can change the Canadian Government's mind.

Swiss journalist, author, and conservationist Franz Weber is well known in Europe for persuading people who didn't want to, to change decisions. Dotted across the European continent are his legacies — peaceful towns, villages, and fields where superhighways, not built, skyscrapers, and industries were scheduled for construction but never built.

Now, Mr. Weber and his wife, Judith, have brought their persuasiveness to North America to save the harp seals.

"The whole world is against this. The whole world wants this stopped," says Mr. Weber, shaking his bushy locks of slightly graying hair. "So the whole world is obligated to help the Canadians stop this killing."

### 'World is obligated'

The Webers were in New York recently to launch their "Save Our Seals" ("SOS") campaign in North America. At the Central Park Zoo they dropped mackerel down the welcoming gullets of "Bonny" and "Missy," the resident California sea lions, posing patiently in driving snow for photographs.

Using 1 million Swiss francs (about \$400,000) from the Weber Foundation (Prince Sadruddin

Aga Khan is on its board), Mr. Weber has adopted a carrot-and-stick approach to the Canadian Government.

He has asked it to halt the annual slaughter by Canadian and visiting Norwegian hunters in return, he is offering Canada the 1 million francs, with more to come, to use in retreating Newfoundland's own local seal hunters to "more acceptable and productive enterprise."

### Fur machines offered

Mr. Weber says he is ready to provide Newfoundland with machines that produce an artificial, acrylic fur much like the baby seal pelts. "And it's washable, too," he says. Mr. Weber is scheduled to present his case this month to the Canadian Minister of Fisheries and Environment, Romeo LeBlanc.

If this effort fails, he plans to gather 40 journalists and naturalists from around the world and transport them to Canada's northeast coast to witness the slaughter and air world opinion against the killing of 170,000 seals, the official quota.

To help pay for the campaign, Mr. Weber has designed a life-size and lifelike toy baby seal. In Europe, the Webers have already been able to have them manufactured for enough to meet demand. Now, supplies made in South Korea are being imported into the United States. Any contribution above \$10 to the Weber Foundation (Box 505, Plainville, N.Y. 11803) brings the donor one of these stuffed, big-eyed baby seals.

### Fewer than a million

The Webers are concerned not only with what they see as the inhumanity of the annual baby-seal slaughter, but also with the very survival of the harp seal. Where once at the start of the century 10 million of these seals played in the surf off the Newfoundland coast, they say that today fewer than a million are left.

They dispute the effectiveness of the Canadian quota system, claiming that the breed will be extinct by 1985 if the present rate of killing continues. They told that complaints that the seals' fish-eating habits reduce the catch of fishermen would better be directed at the fishermen's own overfishing.

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# sports

## Cardiff City — the Cinderella of British soccer

By David Parry-Jones

It is exactly 50 years since Cardiff City won the Football Association challenge cup and became the first and only club to take the coveted trophy out of England.

That was also the last time for Welsh soccer to make a major impact on the outside world. The national XI once held Brazil to a draw, in the World Cup quarter finals of 1958, and last year they reached the last eight of the European Cup, a better performance than England's or Scotland's.

Professional critics, however, do not mention southwesterly and crystal ball gazers, say that history might conceivably repeat itself for Cardiff, who are due to entertain leading English club Everton in the fifth round of this year's FA Cup competition later this month.

One of those who firmly believes in the City's destiny this spring is the club's brilliant chairman Stefan Terlecki, a Ukrainian émigré and head of a consortium which took Cardiff's reins a year ago.

"We immediately went promoting to Division II of the Football League," he reminds the sceptics. "It took a few months to adjust to the new demanding level of play, but having done that we are now launched on a Cup run that has won us the scalps of strong opponents Wrexham and Tottenham Hotspur."

"Arsenal, the team Cardiff beat in the final

of 1927, are still in the competition, so who is to say that 1977 will not see a repeat of that meeting long ago?"

"Certainly I have complete faith in my club's ability to reach Wembley."

Besides their Russian-born chairman Cardiff boast a Scottish manager and a majority of Englishmen on the playing strength.

But that is nothing new, for traditionally Wales has been a Cinderella in British soccer. Its small, struggling clubs have often been forced to struggle for survival, with outsiders flowing in to fill the humble vacuum.

Legendary figures in the UK soccer scene like John and Melvyn Charles, Ivor Allchurch, Cliff Jones and latterly Leighton James, at present one of the best wingers in European football, have left home in final fame and fortune over the years with rich English clubs like Leeds, Tottenham, and Derby County.

And because of the Welsh clubs' lack of success and charisma, the Principality's most promising youngsters have preferred to join the ground staffs of Wolves, Liverpool and Manchester United than those of Cardiff, Swansea, Wrexham and Newport.

"But two home-grown players, David Giles and Peter Sayer, and two of our important goals in the last round of the Cup," points out manager Jimmy Andrews.

"And we are now on the football map — which means that the best schoolboy talent in

our area now wants to join Cardiff City. That's the best possible augury for the future."

"This is only the start. Within the next five years we will have a great club — and I mean great. That has been my ambition ever since I took over as manager."

Talk of a grand revival in Welsh soccer simply because of a good Cup run is perhaps premature. But already there is a new mood and a new set of ambitions abroad among men who have usually had to take a back seat recently

while the glory and the honours were monopolized by Wales's highly successful rugby union players.

The ball at Wembley is still a long way away, and a fairy godmother may still be needed to wave a magic wand. But if guts and determination count for anything then Cinderella, in the guise of Cardiff City, could well be among the guests.

Mr. Parry-Jones is a commentator for the BBC from Wales.

## Japan's top woman golf pro

By Phil Elderton

Los Angeles

If you haven't yet seen Chako Higuchi, one of the top women golfers in the world take charge on the greens, you have been missing an exercise in superb control.

No, the ball doesn't find the hole every time. But it has found it often enough to make her a heroine in Japan and an upcoming personality in the United States.

This isn't going to be an interview with Higuchi, whose husband is also a touring golf professional, because her English isn't much better than my Japanese.

But if you want to see a pointer do the work of a target rifle, this is the lady to watch. She could give lessons right now to half the men's pro tour.

Carol Mann, who knows what it's like to compete under pressure and win, says that Chako is better than her press clippings — that her game is terribly underrated. What she needs is more television exposure to let the general public know that she can swing a club without power steering.

Despite playing in only 15 LPGA tournaments last year, Higuchi won \$57,000. Add that

to what she won in Japan and you've got a \$100,000-a-year woman golfer.

If she didn't heat some pretty good people along the way to amass that amount of money, maybe they should check her for mirrors.

Like most women golfers in the 5 ft. 4 in. range, there is always talk about how Chako could improve her backswing. A lot of her opponents didn't think her swaying style would stand up under the daily pressure of tournament play.

But most of that nonsense disappeared when she won last year's European Championship in England against a world-class field. If anything can make a Swiss watch, it can also make a championship swing — providing the proper amount of practice is maintained.

There is a kind of Camelot-like tale to Chako's arrival as a pro at 18 and her decision to start playing in the United States in 1970.

The story is that originally it was her sister who wanted to go the pro golf route in fame and fortune and then had to stop when she realized the talent just wasn't there.

But she kept enough interest in the game to transfer her dream to Higuchi, who really did have the tools to make it work.

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## The idea and its shadow

Radical changes in art have confused the public since time immemorial, but it is difficult to imagine any innovation more esoteric than conceptual art is today. To add insult to injury it is a movement for artists rather than the public, and supposedly they don't care if we understand it.

But it is also difficult to escape. Gallery and museum exhibitions of contemporary art frequently include such curiosities as the written documentation of a performance, dots arranged on graph paper, an erased drawing, a series of photographs of water towers, a photograph of an artist pretending to be a fountain, sentences that make no sense and have no reference, or a work such as Joseph Kosuth's "One and Three Chairs" pictured on this page.

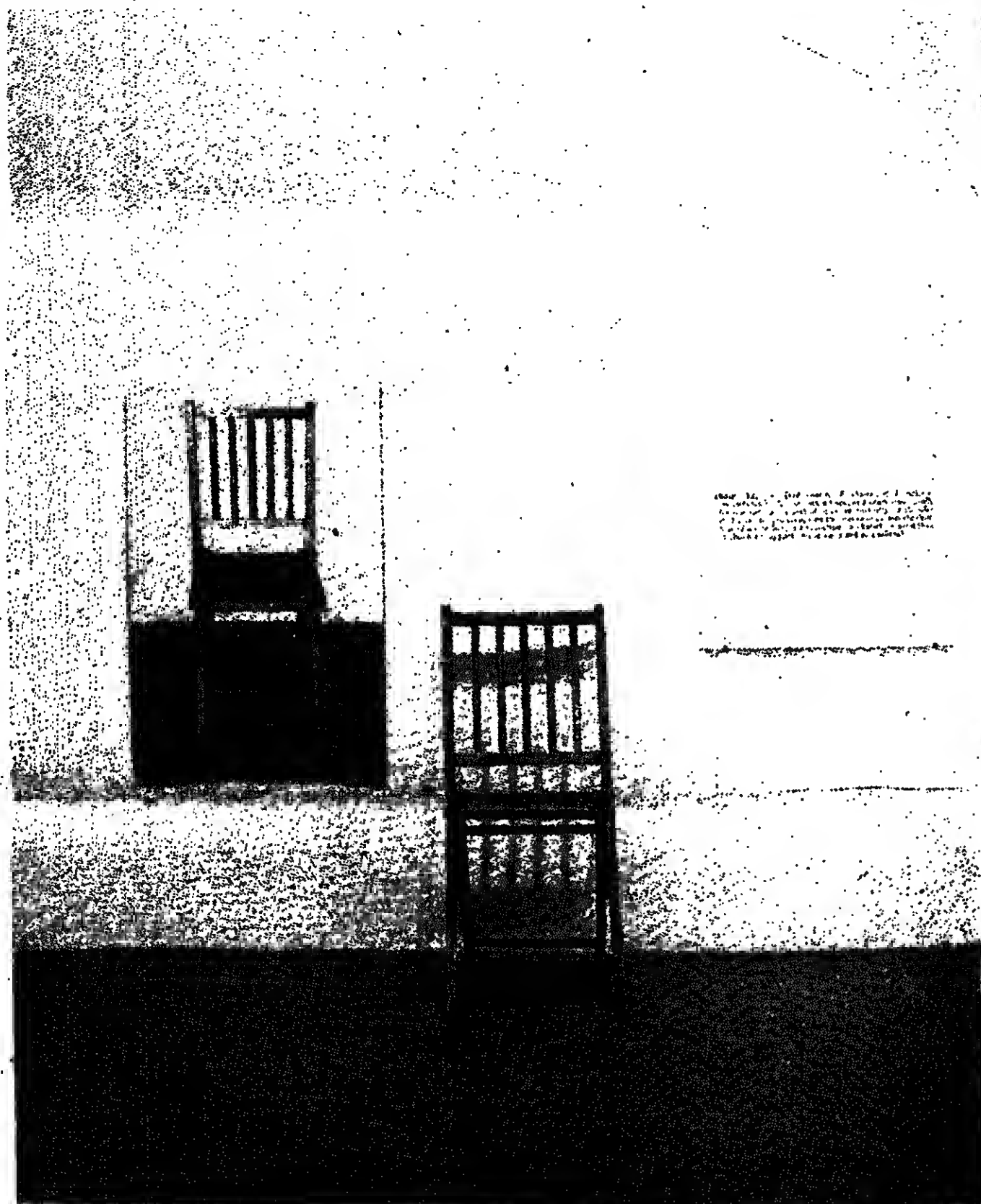
Conceptual art becomes comprehensible, somewhat, if one examines it from the point of view of art history. In that context it has a distinct place on the evolutionary ladder and is a commentary on all the art that preceded it. If one regards art since the Impressionists as a progression toward greater and greater abstraction, i.e., the refinement of an object into its most basic structural components or its most essential elements, then one recognizes that there is a visual point beyond which the artist cannot go, a new kind of vanishing point which occurs when the subject of a painting or sculpture can be reduced no further. This is the *cul de sac* implicit in abstraction; this is what confronted the minimalist in the '60s and from which the only escape was neither forward nor backward but upward.

Critic Lucy Lippard labeled this change of direction "the dematerialization of art," the transition from art as object to art as idea. An idea is the ultimate abstraction and thus the logical conclusion of a movement predicated upon it. In other words, the idea of a work of art became more important than its realization, and art began shifting its allegiance from aesthetics to philosophy.

Conceptual art finds its roots in Marcel Duchamp, the controversial dadaist who attacked traditional painting and sculpture because "I wanted to get away from the physical aspect of painting. . . I was interested in ideas not merely in visual products. I wanted to put painting once again at the service of the mind. And my painting was, of course, at once regarded as 'intellectual' and 'literary' painting. It was true I was endeavoring to establish myself as far as possible from 'pleasing' and 'attractive' painting. Dada was an extreme protest against the physical side of painting. It was a metaphysical attitude."

Kosuth, one of the key theoreticians of conceptual art, went beyond Duchamp and changed the emphasis in art from "the form of the language to what was being said," from a question of morphology to a question of function . . . from 'appearance' to 'conception'.

In other words, the interest in a work of art became intellectual rather than physical or visual insofar as it interpreted the meaning of art. Wrote Kosuth: "What is the function of art, or the nature of art? If we continue our analogy of the forms art takes as being art's language one can realize that a work of art is a kind of proposition presented within the context of art as a comment on art. We can then go further and analyze the types of 'propositions'."



'One and Three Chairs' 1965: Conceptual study by Joseph Kosuth

These quotations are taken from a 1969 article by Kosuth called "Art after Philosophy" in which he expounds the notion of art as an idea and the inevitable consequence of philosophy's breakdown in our times. He concludes: "In this period of man's history, the art that deals analogously with the state of things 'beyond physics' where philosophy has to make assertions. And art's strength is that even the preceding sentence is an assertion, and cannot be verified by art. Art's only claim is for art. Art is the definition of art."

It follows from this theory that the critic is no longer necessary, the superfluous middleman between the artist and the audience. Because there is no longer a distance between the object and the idea behind the object, because the artist has become his own interpreter, there is no longer an aesthetic basis on which to judge, or for that matter to respond, to a work. The conceptual artist is confronting us quite simply with an idea

about art, and the only possible service a critic could perform would be to explain that idea. The value of the work is the 'quality' of that idea.

Conceptual art, therefore, not only liberates the artist from aesthetic constraints but from economic ones as well. Since art is no longer a product, something to be made and sold, but an idea, it is removed from the realm of commercial transaction and mass culture. This does not mean, however, that the conceptual artist is totally indifferent to display or audience. He has an idea to communicate but cares only about communicating it to those who are enlightened enough to understand it. This is the ultimate art for art's sake and the artist's sake.

If you are still scratching your head in perplexity, contemplate Kosuth's chair, place, which is one of the seminal conceptual works. We see before us an ordinary wooden chair (a "readymade" in Duchamp's parlance), a photograph of the same chair, the shadow of the chair on the wall. One can immediately consider this arrangement as a reflection of the object) or three chairs (because the representation and the shadow of the chair are as meaningful from an artistic point of view as the "real" chair.)

What, this place asks, is a chair? The definition hangs next to it making us realize by the pitiful inadequacy of its literal answer how complex the question really is. The chair is simply a device for framing an inquiry about the nature of perception and the history of art. Traditional art progressed from the representation of the actual object to the abstraction of the object. Conceptual art goes further and proceeds to the idea of that object, its shadow.

Diana Loomis

## Someone sleeping

You rumple your pillow, an ear deep where the past is, your face one side so near the cloth you breathe it. You find enough darkness.

And for every blunder, rejection, fault, all of your nights, you turn, loss. Then in the morning, quizzed by the sun, you give back this gaze: "Day, we are even —"

"Finding each other like this, we go on. There — my pillow has my dreams. They are warm, folded, waiting for my ear that leaves the world, and my face for new dreams to hide in."

William Stafford

## Seeing undiscovered colors

I had hardly reached the age of pastels and was no more than four when my brother and sister announced that they had found a new color. They called it greasy. It was a peculiar one indeed, quite unknown to the crayon-makers and paper-mills who lured my quiet moments to their hues, and you had to look very hard to find it. I missed seeing it countless times when ("Look! There's a greasy-colored barn!") I would whip around just as our car ("Oh, too bad!") went safely over a rise or around a corner. I never did see it.

In a few years, however, I settled into the shrewd and canny age where skepticism prevails. Colors, I could argue lucidly, sprang from the three primaries, and all of them that were going to be invented had already been invented. Greasy, I wisely opined, was of a piece with Santa Claus and unicorns, and the wonderful landscape, all set about with greasy-colored hydrants and mushrooms and Appaloosas, was nothing but fabrication.

I'm just now beginning to outgrow that skepticism. A while ago I happened upon a poem by e. e. cummings, who ought to know about colors if anyone did, since he was also a painter. He begins by praising his lady by saying that hers is "the music for no in-and-spiritless things flourish unmolested. After all, the point is not that we hear a nine-note octave, see the camel egg laid under another moon. The point is that we make room for them in the heart's gallery. Maybe that is how we escape far enough from our ease of the expected to dare to be amateurs. Maybe in this way we come to embrace the humbling shock of expansiveness. Maybe in this we realize at last that the price of innovation is the surrender of accepted boundaries, that courage is not only in redefining what is unwanted but in apprehending what has never yet even been wanted, that the boldest thinker is the perceiver of the preposterous. Maybe the truest artist lays the brush of his sensibilities among the thousand unheeded colors — including greasy."

Rushworth M. Kidder

## Man and his words

I believe in the writer's mission. He receives it from the word, which carries its suffering and its hope within it. He questions the words, which question him. He accompanies the words, which accompany him. The initiative is shared, as if spontaneous. Being useful to them (in using them) he gives a deep sense to his life and to theirs; from which his own has sprung.

Edmond Jabes

From "The Book of Questions" ©1976 Weizman University Press

This Monitor's religious article

## Perfection is permanent

In the Bible the fact is clearly established that God, divine Mind, created all that is real, and that His universe of good is permanent. Referring to God's work, the writer of Ecclesiastes emphatically says: "Nothing can be put to it, nor any thing taken from it."

And in Christian Science, discovered and founded by Mary Baker Eddy, we are told: "Belly was satisfied with this work. How could he be otherwise, since the spiritual creation was the outgrowth, the emanation, of this infinite self-containment and immortal wisdom?" God's "infinite self-containment" shows there is no room for imperfection in occupy or to be reflected by divine Mind's complete idea, man. Man is perfect because his Maker is perfect — and he will be perfect in God forever.

Yet we find human thought contradicting the Bible and frequently tempting us to believe that all sorts of difficulties can be added to us — or good taken from us. It claims our health, strength, vision, hearing, and so forth, can be lost or impaired, or that we can be afflicted with perplexing business, social, and family problems.

Christ Jesus came to show us a way of escape from such mistaken beliefs. He said, "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." He knew that the real man, the only man that truly exists — our real, spiritual being — was made in God's likeness and therefore is perfect and complete. With his clear understanding of man's God-given perfection he restored quickly and completely the sick, the lame, and even the dead to normal health and activity.

Christian Science shows us how to follow his example in finding answers to problems. As we deny the false evidence of the material senses and seek to recognize God's perfect handiwork being expressed all around us, harmony and goodness will become more a part of our lives. Fear, envy, hate, resentment, are not part of man's true heritage as a child of God, and insofar as we realize this, they will increasingly cease to have any effect on our thoughts and actions. We can discover that looking for God's qualities in everyone and everything around us — including ourselves, of course — can bring progress and satisfaction.

Christian Science teaches that the changeless perfection with which the one creator, God, has endowed His reflection, man, belongs just as fully to all the activities of the universe — to what we see humanly as our business, social, scholastic, athletic, or family affairs. Everything reflects the intelligence and power of divine Principle, God, and of nothing else. God's presence precludes the existence of any other power or activity. The more clearly we understand this and apply it to all we do, the more we will be able to perceive God's changeless perfection.

Moreover, the fact that God's perfect crea-

tion is changeless and permanent does not mean that man, God's reflection, is faced with an existence of sameness and dullness. Far from it. The divine creation is infinite, and new and fresh aspects of that creation are continually unfolding to us throughout all eternity. Writing of God's handiwork, Mrs. Eddy says: "Creation is ever appearing, and must ever continue to appear from the nature of its inexhaustible source."††

Claiming our spiritual and indestructible relationship with God, we are able to count on whatever we need for a lasting and satisfying existence.

\*Ecclesiastes 3:14; ††Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures, p. 519; ‡Matthew 5:48; §Science and Health, p. 507.

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